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ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS IN INDIA

(A Linguistic Study, together with an exhaustive Bibliography)

Being the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indarji

Gold Medal Essay, 1943

BY

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Published by

THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

1948

MUNSHI RAM MANOHAR LAL C MANAKTALA & SONS PRIVATE LIMITED
Oriental & Foreign Book Sellers, Fair Field, Road No 4, Churchgate, Bombay 1
P B 1165 Nat Sarak DELHI-6

Respectfully Dedicated
to
Professor H. D. Velankar

PREFACE

The present essay was written for the Bhagawanlal Indraj Gold Medal and Prize Competition of the year 1943, and was subsequently awarded the said medal and prize. The title of the essay for the competition was given as "The Aśokan Inscriptions in India" and the choice of the specific view point from which these inscriptions were to be studied was left to the competitor. The inscriptions of Aśoka have a perennial interest for a research scholar and during the past century or so they have been studied by research scholars from different points of view. The monumental work of HULTZSCH in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I (New Edition)¹ gives excellent texts and translations of all Aśokan inscriptions save the recently discovered versions of the Minor Rock Edict at Koppāl and Yerrāguḍi. HULTZSCH's work again has brought the palaeographic study of the inscriptions to a very high level and his readings leave little room for improvement. The other aspects which arise from these inscriptions, such as the empire of Aśoka and its administration, his personal religion and the Dhamma which he preached, the social and economic life of the people in the days of Aśoka, the forms of speech current in his days in the different parts of the country, have also been mostly dealt with. I have therefore tried to give in the following pages only the linguistic study of the inscriptions. The originality in the approach is contained in the study of these inscriptions on the comparative basis of Historical Linguistics. The first part of the Essay is devoted to the linguistic study and the second part comprises the Aśokan Bibliography. I have tried to make it as exhaustive as possible and have also given the nature of the contents of each entry in the Bibliography.

But for the help that I received from the University of Bombay it would have been extremely difficult for me to publish this work. I am therefore greatly indebted to the University of Bombay for undertaking the publication of the essay.

Navsari

M A MEHENDALE

Date May 15, 1946

P.S.—I am also to thank the authorities of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for kindly permitting me to reproduce the first chapter of my another work on the 'Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits' published under the auspices of the Institute.

M A M

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ALOC	All India Oriental Conference
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AO	Acta Orientalia
AR	Asiatic Review
Aś.	Aśoka(n).
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASSI	Archaeological Survey of Southern India
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India
b	Bairāt Minor Rock Edict
bb	Barābar Cave Inscriptions
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
bh	Bairāt-Bhābrū (Calcutta-Bairāt) Minor Rock Edict
BLSI	Indian Linguistics Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India
br	Brahmagiri Minor Rock Edict
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BVP	Bhāratiya Vidyā Patrikā
CHI	Cambridge History of India.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
COJ	Calcutta Oriental Journal
D	Dhauī Rock Edict
d	Dhauī Separate Edict
EI	Epigraphia Indica
G	Girnar Rock Edict
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
H	Hemacandra
Hlz	Hultzsch Inscriptions of Aśoka (CII, Vol I)
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indo-European
IE	Indo-Germanische Forschungen
IF	Indian Historical Quarterly
IHQ	Jaugada Rock Edict
J	Jaugada Separate Edict
J	Journal Asiatique
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAHS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRS	Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
JBHS	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta. Journal of Indian History

JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JPASB	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JPTS	Journal of the Pāli Text Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
jtr	Jatūga-Rāmesvara Minor Rock Edict
JUB	Journal of the University of Bombay
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Research Society.
K	Kāśī Rock Edict
kb	Allahabad-Kausāmbī Pillar Edict (Minor)
kpb	Kopbāj Minor Rock Edict
kq	Queen's Edict—Allahabad-Kausāmbī Pillar
Ksb	Allahabad-Kausāmbī Pillar Edict
L	Lüders' List of Prakrit Inscriptions, appended to Ep Ind 10
M	Mānsehrā Rock Edict
Mi	Delhi-Mīrāth Pillar Edict
MI-A	Middle Indo-Aryan
mk	Minor Rock Edict(s)
MRE	Mathua Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Nandangaṛh)
Mth	Nigālī Sāgar Minor Pillar Edict
ng	New Indian Antiquary
NIA	Nāgarī Prachārāṇī Patrikā
NPP	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OLZ	Pillar Edict(s)
PE	Quarterly of the Andhra Historical Society
QARS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
QJMS	Radhia Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Ararāj)
Rdh	Rock Edict(s)
RE	Rummindēi Minor Pillar Edict
ZII	Rāmpūrvā Pillar Edict
rm	Rūpnāth Minor Rock Edict
ru	Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict
S	Sahasrām Minor Rock Edict
s	Sacred Books of the East
SBE	Sāñcī Minor Pillar Edict
sc	Śiddāpur Minor Rock Edict
sd	Sanskrit
Sk	Sārnāth Minor Pillar Edict
sn	Sopārā Rock Edict
* So	Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preuss Ak der Wissenschaften
SPAW	Delhi-Toprā Pillar Edict.
T	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAPA	Vararuci
V	Vienna Oriental Journal
yr	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
WZKM	Yerrāguḍi Minor Rock Edict
VOJ	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

INTRODUCTION

So much has been written, revised, and re-written on the subject of Aśokan inscriptions that it hardly needs lifting one's pen to point out any further the importance of the subject. As the oldest dated records in Prakrits, their importance for a historical study of MI-A languages can never be overrated. Again almost as the first lines of any text to be put down in writing and preserved in India, the singularity of these inscriptions has been well appreciated. Their value for the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India is contained in the fact that they yield some useful dates and events in the life of the great monarch Aśoka. For the early history of Buddhism, its diffusion in the distant corners of the Emperor's vast territories, for the missionary activities which he carried on in the cause of the "Law of Piety" he purported to enunciate, these inscriptions read as a gospel. And with the few colours regarding the social conditions that are preserved in these edicts can also be drawn a picture of the contemporary society.

These are some of the various aspects from which the inscriptions of Aśoka could be studied. Within the limit of a hundred foolscap pages prescribed for the competitive essay it is impossible to do full justice to all these aspects. Moreover with some of the biographical sketches of the life and career of Aśoka and the publication of the "Inscriptions of Aśoka" in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol I (new edn.) almost all these aspects have been ably and fully studied (see note on Bibliography, Part II, pp 95-9). The present attempt is, therefore, restricted to a linguistic study of these inscriptions from a comparative view point of historical linguistics.

If we were to take into consideration the dates when some of the edicts were first discovered then the history of the study of these inscriptions may be said to stretch over two centuries. For, the honour of the discovery of the Delhi pillar goes to Padre Tieffenthaler who gathered the fragments of the pillar somewhere about 1750. The activity which was started at that stage was fruitfully carried on by numerous enthusiasts and it is needless to recount all the dates when the different records were first discovered. Yet the real study of these inscriptions must be regarded to have commenced when James Prinsep first unveiled roughly in the middle of the nineteenth century the mystery which overhangs the art of deciphering these inscriptions. Learned scholars who followed in his wake contributed their share at every stage to make available to the readers a more correct text and translation of these inscriptions. It is on the basis of the efforts of these early scholars that we have to base the edifice of our linguistic study to-day.

The present monograph includes all the available inscriptions of Aśoka¹ the versions of the fourteen Major Rock Edicts found at Garnar, a mile to the East of Junāgaḍh in the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, at Shāhabāzgarhī, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshawar Dt., and at Mānsehrā, the headquarters of a tahsil in the Hazārā Dt., both in N.W.F. Province, at Kālsī, in the Chakrābāh tahsil in the Dehra Dun Dt., U.P., at Dhauli in the Khurda subdivision of

1 For their geographical distribution see the map

the Purī Dt., Orissa, at Jaugaḍa, in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjam Dt., Orissa, the two separate edicts at Dhauḥ and Jaugaḍa, the fragment of the VIIth Rock Edict discovered at Sopārā in the Bassein Taluka of Thānā Dist., Bombay, the sets of Pillar Edicts found at Delhi-Toprā, the village Tobra where the pillar originally stood being identified with Tōprā on the direct line between Ambala and Sīrsāvā, 22 miles to the South-West of Khizrābād, at Delhi-Mīrāth, the village Mīrāth being the present headquarters of the Meerut district in the U.P., at Lauriya-Ararāj, formerly known as Radhia Pillar, in the Champaran Dt., N. Bihar, at Lauriya-Nandangarh, once known as Mathia Pillar, in the same district of Bihar, at Rāmpūrvā, again in the same district of Bihar, at Allahabad Kauśāmbī, the latter being identified with modern Kosam, about 28 miles West by South from Allahabad this same pillar has on the face of it the so-called "*Queen's Edict*" and the so-called "*Kauśāmbī Edict*" (minor), besides the first six of the seven Major Pillar Edicts, the texts of the Minor Pillar Edicts discovered at Sāñci, an ancient cite in the Bhopal State in Central India, at Sarnāth, about 3 miles to the North of Benares, at Rumminder, about 13 miles South-East of Nigālī Sāgar Pillar in the Nepalese Tarai and about 5 miles to the North-East of Dulhā in the British Dt. of Basti in the U.P., at Nigālī Sāgar, about a mile South of Nigālī, belonging to the South of Nepalese Tahsil of Taulivā and about 7 miles North West of Piprāhwā in Basti Dt., of U.P., the Minor Rock Edicts discovered at Rūpnāth, 14 miles west of Sleemanabad railway station on the line from Jabalpure to Katni, at Sahasrām, the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād Dt., Bihar, at Barāṭ, the head-quarters of a Tahsil in the Jaipur St., Rajputana, at Calcutta-Bairāt, once styled as the Bhābrū edict, at Maski, in the Raichur Dt., and at Kopbāl, the head-quarters of a district in the Jagir of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur both in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, the versions at Brahmagiri, Siddāpur, and Jauṅga-Rāmeśvara all three being situated in the Chittaldroog Dt., Mysore State, at Yerrāguḍi, in the Kurnool Dt. of Madras, and the cave inscriptions in the Barābar hill, 15 miles to the North of Gaya in Bihar

The version of the Minor Rock Edict at Yerrāguḍi is already mentioned above. The following notice published on page 791 of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, speaks of the discovery of a set of fourteen Rock Edicts: "A momentous discovery of another recension in Brāhmī script of fourteen rock edicts of Aśoka has just been announced by the Department of Archaeology in India. The inscriptions have been found engraved on five large rocks in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. Eleven of the fourteen rock edicts have already been identified. It is expected that a fuller report together with the photographs of the inscriptions will be available shortly." More than a decade has elapsed since the publication of this notice and yet this valuable discovery has not been brought out in print. This delay in the publication is to be greatly regretted for the material afforded by the South Indian inscriptions of Aśoka is scanty and the publication of these fourteen edicts would largely add to our knowledge of the South Indian dialect in the Aśokan age.

The Deotek slab inscription lately published by Prof. V. V. Mirashi¹ and attributed by the learned editor to the days of Aśoka is not included in the present study. Deotek is a small village some fifty miles to the south-east of Nagpur in C.P. The attribution of the inscription to Aśoka is mainly based upon the subject matter of the ins-

1 Proceedings and Translations, 9th AIOC pp. 613-22

scription which is thus narrated by the editor: "... its object was to record the command of some lord (*Sāma*) ... prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals ...) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it. The third line mentions executive officers (*āmachā* = *amātyāḥ*) whose duty may have been to enforce these orders." On the basis of this information Prof Mirashi contends, "The contents of the present inscription suggest that it may be referred to the age of Aśoka when there was a wide-spread campaign against the capture and slaughter of animals." Prof Mirashi himself notes certain circumstances which go against his view. Firstly the commencement of the record is unlike that of the known inscriptions of Aśoka. And secondly some letters, e.g., *ñ*, *p* and *c* in the first line and *t* which occurs in the first two lines belong to a later period. But in spite of these difficulties Prof Mirashi believes that the Deotek edict was issued by some officer of Aśoka perhaps in the fourteenth year after his coronation.

The arguments put forward in support of this attribution do not carry conviction. Besides the palaeographic and stylistic difficulties already noted above I am putting forward here the difficulties in attributing the record to Aśoka from the linguistic view point. First of all, if the word *lego* occurring in the fourth line is to be derived from *lekha-*, it involves the change of *-kh-* to *-g-* perhaps through *-gh-* (*lekha-* > **legha-* > *lega-*). But this is a highly advanced phonetic change which never appears in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Even the intermediate stage where *-kh-* > *-gh-* occurs only in the inscription of the 1st cent B.C. in Central India (cf. Sk. *Makhādeva* > *Maghādeva* at Bharaut L. 691). The cluster *sv-* which appears in the word *svāma* (line 1) is never preserved in the Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, except in the word *svaga-*. It is preserved, on the contrary, in the West and the N-West (in the form *sp-*) in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Similarly in the Deotek slab the cluster *-ñ-* is palatalised to *-ṇ-* in *ā/ṇapa-* (line 1) and *rāṇā* (line 4). Now palatalisation of this cluster forms the Western characteristic of the inscriptions of Aśoka. In the Central and Eastern regions on the contrary it is assimilated to *-n-*. The preservation of the cluster *-mb-* in *Cikambari* (line 1) also appears to be a later characteristic. Coming to the declined forms in the Deotek inscription, the nom. sg. ends in *-o*, (*bamdhanto* line 2), but Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka always show the ending *-e*. Thus the absence in the Deotek slab of the Central Indian peculiarities observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka preclude the possibility of its being assigned to the days of Aśoka. The inscription, therefore, is excluded from the present study.

As the inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the scholar of Indian Linguistics an extremely fruitful field for research they have attracted the attention of a very large number of scholars—linguists, palaeographers and historians alike. As one goes through the pages of the Bibliography attached at the end as the Second Part of this Essay, one is amazed at the large number of contributions already made with regard to these inscriptions. It is not quite unlikely that one may even come to the conclusion that there is now hardly anything left to be written on the subject of Aśokan inscriptions. But as the initial reaction of wonder subsides the reader would begin to see the way in which he can yet make some original contribution in this direction. Thus almost all these attempts are devoted to the publication of the text and translation of the edicts, to the writing of explanatory notes on individual passages or words, to the identification of places and peoples mentioned in the edicts, or to the deciding of a

particular trait in the life of Aśoka. A comprehensive attempt to study these inscriptions from the view point of comparative linguistics still remains to be undertaken. It is true that some of the scholars have fully studied the dialects of the different versions or have made a beginning in this direction. Hultzsch's excellent summaries of grammars of individual versions are undoubtedly valuable. But he has failed therein to make a comparative approach so as to cover all the versions at a single stretch.

The present essay is, therefore, based on this comparative stand point which is to be applied to the entire material afforded by these inscriptions. Thus the treatment of a particular phoneme or morpheme in all versions is studied at one place and wherever the dialectal distinctions could be observed in the geographically distant areas they have been pointed out. The whole study is divided into two Parts—the first part being devoted to such comparative study and the second part to a complete Bibliography. The first part again consists of three chapters. The first chapter deals with the Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions. It includes the comparative study of the treatments of vowels and consonants in all positions. This approach enables us to fix the regional correspondences which the different versions exhibit. In the short space which is at our disposal it is not possible to give example of the preservation of Sk vowels and consonants, unless such preservation itself is of linguistic importance. A few changes which are introduced in the treatment of consonants due to assimilation and others which are only occasional in their appearance have been referred to in foot-notes. The study mainly purports to bring out the stage as is reflected in these inscriptions in the development of the MI-A languages in the different corners of India. Where the examples are quoted they are culled as far as possible to represent all the versions of the inscriptions and thus satisfy the requirement of comparative study. It also deals with the declensional and the conjugational systems from the same comparative stand point as is applied to the study of Phonology. The dialectal variations in each case have been generally specified in the beginning and the exceptions wherever they occur have been immediately noted.

The second chapter includes the study of Syntax of these inscriptions. But for a few syntactical peculiarities in the Major Rock Edicts noted by Hultzsch at the end of the Grammar of the Gāṇar version this important branch in the linguistic study of these inscriptions has almost remained untouched. As an exhaustive study of Aśokan syntax could not be included in this Essay, only such peculiarities as appear in the government of cases, in case variations, and a few others have been exemplified at some length. Even in this sphere the different versions of the edicts point to dialectal variations in certain instances.

The last chapter views the results in Phonology and Morphology arrived at by the comparative study in the light of the Prakrit grammarians. The school of Prakrit grammarians came into vogue at a very late stage and hence their grammars are based on the literary works. The three principal languages treated by them derive their names from the three geographical subdivisions viz Magadha, Śūrasena and Mahāśatrapa. It is, therefore, quite natural to suppose that the dialects which later on developed into full fledged literary languages must have been reflected in the different versions in Aśokan inscriptions corresponding to their respective regions. For though the edicts which were to be inscribed at various places in Aśoka's empire were the same when they were issued from Magadha, they were altered actually at the time of inscribing them at various places so as to suit the requirements of local dialects. A

note of warning, however, requires to be sounded here before one eagerly looks into these inscriptions to get as it were the Western, the N-Western, the Central or the Southern translations of the Māgadha edicts. It is only the Gīrnār and the Shāhbāzgarhī versions of the fourteen rock edicts which materially differ from the Māgadha version. The edicts which appear in Central and Southern India do not seem to have been so largely altered. To substantiate this statement, the treatment of *ṛ* in the Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka may be cited as an illustration. In this division the semi-vowel *ṛ* becomes *l* as in the Māgadha dialect. But in the numerous votive inscriptions at Sāñci which come almost on the heels of Aśokan inscriptions this *ṛ* is preserved. Now it would be hazardous to suppose that the Central Indian dialects in Aśoka's days changed *ṛ* > *l* but began to preserve it when the inscriptions at Sāñci were inscribed. On the contrary it would be more natural to suppose that the scribes who put down the Central Indian versions of Aśoka's inscriptions did not alter the Māgadha *l* to *ṛ* but kept the form of the word as it appeared in the Māgadha dialect. This single illustration, however, does not preclude the possibility of the Central and Southern scribes of having made any change whatsoever. For instance, the Kōpāl version alone of the Minor Rock Edicts presents an instance of initial cerebrisation of the dental *n*. This cannot be explained in any other way except by supposing that its insertion was entirely due to the influence of a local dialect.

Thus it is the study of the Western dialect in comparison with the Eastern one of the Aśokan inscriptions which can be principally utilised for the study of the development of literary Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī. However, wherever the versions other than those in the two regions noted above show any dialectal peculiarity even they have been considered in relation to the later Prakrits of the grammarians. The purpose of this last chapter is primarily to investigate the extent to which the dialectal characteristics noticed by later grammarians had already begun to appear in the corresponding regions in the days of Aśoka.

The second part is devoted to the presentation of an exhaustive Bibliography of Aśokan inscriptions. All the entries have been in the first instance arranged alphabetically under their authors' names in order to facilitate ready reference. In the end is given a Note on the Bibliography which classifies all these four hundred odd entries according to their subject matter by giving reference to their number in Bibliography.

As the present monograph is restricted to the linguistic study it has not been possible to deal with some other aspects of the inscriptions. Yet it may be pointed out what is being done quite recently in this direction. With the texts, translations and numerous explanatory notes already having been made available, the identification of Satiyaputra and the problem of the religion of Aśoka seem to interest the scholars even to-day. The former has been differently identified and with regard to the Emperor's faith all the existing religions of the land have been exhausted. It appears, however, that the Emperor was a convert Buddhist, though the Dhamma he undertook to preach did not contain the philosophical delicacies peculiar to this religion. It is not intended here to give a detailed argument in support of this opinion. The absence of the dogmatic tenets of Buddhism in his preaching seems to make us believe that Aśoka did not as much wish to see that all his subjects were convert Buddhists like himself as to see that they practised the ethical side of the religion. The mention of Brahmanical

'svarga' in his edicts instead of Buddhistic 'nirvāṇa' seems to be due to the fact that the Emperor wanted to take advantage of popular psychology. He, therefore, did not try to explain to his subjects the distinction between 'nirvāṇa' and 'svarga' but merely promised them the obtainment of the latter as a result of the practice of his Dhamma.

The conception of morality (Dhamma) according to this apostle of non violence included proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to parents, liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, avoiding killing animals (RE, 11, also cf RE, 3). At so many places Aśoka bemoans the increase in past years of such demerits as the slaughter of animals in sacrifices, discourtesy towards the followers of a religion other than one's own, disobedience to the elders and unnecessary performance of some ritualistic practices during illness, or at the time of marriage, the birth of a son or when setting out on a journey (RE 1, 4, 9 etc). He, therefore, vigorously launched a movement with a view to removing these demerits in the worldly practices of his subjects by the instruction of morality. He taught that any type of conduct which included few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity was highly meritorious (PE, 2). It is on this extreme indifference towards the philosophical aspect of the religion and great regard for the practical side of it that his religious toleration was based. He honoured all sects with gifts and sincerely desired promotion of the essentials of all sects (RE 12, also cf RE 7).

To conform to the duties of morality and to avoid demerit was never thought easy by the great Maurya Emperor, though he thought it possible only with the employment of great zeal (RE 10). He, therefore, never remained content with a pious wish for increase in morality but exerted himself and exhorted his officers in this direction. He was in fact never tired of exerting himself and dispatching business. Visiting the people personally was regarded as his principal duty by Aśoka (PE 6). All his actions were goaded by one motive which is thus mentioned: "I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world)" (RE 6). He warned his officers to stay away especially from anger and hurry lest their passion interfere with the impartial administration of justice (Separate edict 1). Aśoka rightly prided himself in the creation of the special officers styled by him as Dharma-mahāmātras whom he instituted thirteen years after his coronation. They were occupied with all sects, with all peoples, with servants and masters with prisoners with destitute and aged for the establishment and promotion of morality (RE 5). It was in this fashion that Aśoka set out on a conquest by morality (Dhamma-vijaya) after he came out victorious in the great Kalinga war. And it is in the first Pillar Edict issued twenty-six years after his coronation that Aśoka records with satisfaction that after continued efforts in instructing people in morality and also the practice of morality on the part of his agents, great results were achieved, for regard and love for morality in his subjects were being promoted day by day.

ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS IN INDIA

MAP OF INDIA
SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL
DISTRIBUTION OF
ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

The map illustrates the geographical distribution of Asokan inscriptions across various provinces and regions of ancient India. Key locations marked include:

- Kashmir**: Located in the northernmost part of the map.
- Punjab**: Located in the northwestern part of the map.
- Avadh**: Located in the central-northern part of the map.
- Central Provinces**: Located in the central part of the map.
- Bengal**: Located in the northeastern part of the map.
- Mysore**: Located in the southern part of the map.

Neighboring countries and regions shown include:

- Afghanistan**: To the west of India.
- Persia**: To the southwest of India.
- Ceylon**: To the south of India.
- Bhutan**: To the northeast of India.
- Burma**: To the east of India.

The map also shows major rivers and the coastline of India.

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- AVADH**: Located in the central-northern part of the map.
- CENTRAL PROVINCES**: Located in the central part of the map.
- BENGAL**: Located in the eastern part of the map.
- MYSORE**: Located in the southern part of the map.
- CEYLON**: Located in the southernmost part of the map.

Neighboring countries and regions shown include:

- AFGHANISTAN**: To the west of Punjab.
- PERSIA**: To the west of Avadh.
- INDIA**: The main landmass of the map.
- CHINA**: To the north of the main landmass.
- CEYLON**: To the south of the main landmass.

The map also shows various rivers and mountain ranges, and the distribution of Asokan inscriptions is indicated by small dots and lines across the different provinces.

[illegible]

CHAPTER I

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

§ 1 INTRODUCTORY The inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the student of Indian linguistics a remarkable specimen of a linguistic survey of Indo-Aryan languages as they were current in the great Maurya Empire during the 3rd century B.C. This unique feature has been responsible for attracting the attention of many distinguished scholars working in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics. Though it is difficult to name all these scholars in these few introductory remarks, mention may be made of the following who have very greatly contributed towards deciphering and interpreting these inscriptions: PRINSEP, SENART, BÜHLER, JOHANSSON, FRANKE, SMITH, GRIERSON, MICHELSON, THOMAS, HULTZSCH, BLOCH, LÜDERS, JAYASWAL, CHARPENTIER, WOOLNER, D. R. BHANDARKAR, D. C. SIRCAR, TURNER, and B. M. BARUA. The publication of these inscriptions by HULTZSCH in the revised edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, in 1925 has brought the study of Aśokan inscriptions to a very high level, incorporating within itself the linguistic and palaeographic researches of more than three generations of scholars. I have based my phonological and morphological study of these inscriptions entirely on the readings adopted by HULTZSCH.

But even this work of HULTZSCH fails to attempt a comparative approach to the linguistic material afforded by these inscriptions. His excellent summaries of grammars are valuable in themselves, no doubt, but their drawback is that they deal with individual dialects and do not give a comparative idea to the reader. In the following discussion, therefore, the whole material is rearranged on a comparative basis in order to show at every stage what linguistic features marked the different dialects of the period. Thus a comprehensive attempt is made here, perhaps for the first time, to reduce, wherever possible, the entire material to certain regional correspondences in so far as the treatment of the different vowels, consonants—simple and clustered—and the declensional and conjugational forms are concerned. While doing this, in the section on Phonology only the linguistic changes have been exemplified, the instances of preservation being omitted. It may be noted that these changes again are not of universal character but show only certain tendencies of pronunciation. In the section on Morphology, however, all the different endings have been exemplified.

Besides the inscriptions included by HULTZSCH in his edition, I have incorporated in this study the additional material afforded by the recently discovered versions of the minor rock edict at Kōpāl¹ in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and at Yerrāgudi² in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. I have, however, not been able to include the fourteen rock edicts discovered in the Kurnool district, as none of them is published so far though many years have elapsed since the announcement of their

1 Ed. by R. L. TURNER. *The Gavmash and Pākhigundi inscriptions of Aśoka*, Hyderabad Arch. Ser. No. 10, 1932.

2 D. C. SIRCAR *IHQ* 7 (737) 817 ff. B. M. BARUA *IHQ* 4, 113 ff., 13, 132 ff. K. P. JAYASWAL, *IHQ* 9, 583 ff.

discovery by the Department of Archaeology in India. This material, when published, would be of immense importance inasmuch as the south Indian Aśokan material is rather scanty in comparison with the north Indian material.

I have not added here any remarks as regards the find spots³ of the Aśokan inscriptions. They are now too well-known in the world of scholars to need repetition here.

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS

§ 2 In common with the other MIA languages the Sk vowels are well preserved in these inscriptions, the notable exceptions being those of the vowel *ṛ* and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*.

§ 3 Treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in a metrically short syllable

(1) In its initial position this vowel generally tends to become *a-* in G even when combined with a labial. In K and to a certain extent in M, *ṛ-* either becomes *a-* or *i-* so that in a few cases we actually get two parallels for a Sk word, one indicating the *a-* and the other the *i-* treatment. In S, *ṛ-* generally becomes *i-* and in a few cases *a-*. It becomes *u-* when combined with a labial. D J Pillar and Minor Rock inscriptions agree with the treatment found in K, except that in the latter *ṛ* > *u-* in combination with a labial.

Sk <i>kṛtā-</i>	G <i>kata-</i>	K <i>kaṣa-</i>	S <i>kṛṣa-</i> <i>kṛṣa-</i>
<i>mṛgā-</i>	<i>maga-</i>	<i>miga-</i>	<i>mṛuga-</i>
M <i>kaṣa-</i> <i>kṛṣa-</i> <i>mṛga-</i>	D, J <i>ka'a-</i> <i>miga</i> Sk <i>prihvi-</i> > <i>pūhavi-</i>	PE <i>kaṣa-</i> Sk <i>sṛmara-</i> > <i>sīmala-</i>	MRE <i>kaṣa-</i> Sk <i>mṛṣāvāda-</i> > <i>musāvāda</i>

It must be noted that S and sometimes M do not in all cases change the vowel *ṛ* to *a-*, *i-*, *u-* but also preserve the consonantal character of the vowel *ṛ* in semi-tat-samas.⁴ Then again in G we get *śṛnāra* from Sk $\sqrt{śṛ}$ -*nu*, but this is due to the influence of the other forms of the root $\sqrt{śṛ}$ - (cf. HULTZSCH, p. LVI). Other parallels are *śṛṇeyu* K, *śṛṇeya* S, *śṛṇeyu* MRE.

(ii) In the penultimate position it appears that the change *ṛ* > *i-* is fast disappearing in the edicts which showed it in the initial syllable and the change *ṛ* > *a-* is tending to be normal. Under stress accent it becomes *i-* in all groups

3 These will be clear from the Map No. 1.

4 Cf. for this type of change WACKERNAGEL, *Altgr. I* §29 p. 33.

Sk vyāpṛta-	G vyāpāta-	K vyāpāṭa-	S vapaṭa- viyapūṭa-
etāḍṛṣa- īḍṛṣa-	etārīsa-	hedīsa-	edīsa-
M vaṇṇa- viyapraṭa-	D, J viyāpāṭa-	PE viyāpāṭa-	MRE Sk prakṛti- > pakṛti-
edīsa-	edīsa-	hedīsa-	

(iii) Most of the words where we get the vowel -ɾ in its final position are those expressive of human relationship and in such cases it becomes -i or -u

Sk bhrātṛ-	S, M bhrātu- bhata- M	K, D, J bhāti-	PE	MRE
pitr-	pitu- piti-	piti- -pitu- D	piti	piti-, pitu- ⁵

§ 4 The vowel ɾ in a metrically long syllable

(i) In the initial position the vowel generally becomes a- in all edicts, with this difference that when combined with a labial it becomes u- oftener in other edicts than in G

Sk vrkṣā-	G vracha-	S, M rucha-	K lukha-
vrddhi-	vaḍhi- (vudha Sopārā)	vaḍhi- S i adhi- M	vaḍhi- (vadha-)
D, J lukha-	PE	MRE Sk adhi-kṛtya > adhi-gīya vaḍhi-	
vaḍhi- vudhi-	vaḍhi-		

The Sk root √dṛk- gives two bases *√dakkha- and *√dikkha- from which we get √dakha- (S, M, K, D, J, MRE) and dekha- (D, J, PE). The form diseyā in bh is derived from Sk dṛśyate by KERN and HULTZSCH

(ii) In the penultimate position we get the same treatment as in the case of the initial syllable

Sk ānanya-	G ānānna-	K anānva-	S, M anānuya-	D, J ānānna-	PE Sk apakṛṣṭa- > apakṛṣṭha- Sk. nṣṭṣṭa- > nṣṭṣṭha- (due to assimilation)
navṛtti-		nvuti-	nvuti-	(anāvuti)	

5 At yr -ɾ- > -ū- before teḥm under the influence of gen pl cf -pitūsu,

§ 5 Treatment of Sk *ai* In all positions and in all versions Sk. *ai* > *e*.

Sk. *kavarta* > *kevaṭa* PE

The dat inf term *-lavai* > *-lave* everywhere

The diphthong *-ai* which is the result of the sandhu becomes *-i* at sn cf Sk *ekaka* > *ikika*. At sn Sk *ēka* > *ika*. Therefore the second *-i* in *ikika* may be due to assimilation or due to sandhu peculiarity

§ 6 Treatment of Sk *au* In all positions and at all places Sk *au* > *o*

Sk *paūtra* > *-poṭra* G, M *-poṭa* S, G, K, D, J *poṭika* T, sc

Sk *paurāna* > *porāna* Mysore group *porāna* yr

In bh we get the form *galava* (HLZ *gālava*) comparable with Sk *gaurava*. The Aśokan form is to be derived directly from the base **gara* which appears in Sk *gāriyas* and *gaṛiṣṭha*

§ 7 Treatment of Sk *-aya* (and *-ayi*)

Sk *-aya* (and *-ayi*) is usually contracted to *-c* but it is sometimes preserved without any regional distinction

Sk *pūjayati* > *pujeli* S,M K, *pujetayā* G (< Sk *pūjayitavyā*),
pujayati G

Sk *ā\ñā-paya* > *a\ṇapaya* S,M,br *a\ṇape* S M, *ā\ṇapaya*
D ! Kb, *ā\ñapaya* G, *a\ṇapaya* K

Sk **trayaḍaśa* > *traidasa*⁶ G, *tedasa* K, D, J, *todaśa* S (? Acc to HLZ)

Sk *Ujjayinī* > *Ujemi* d

§ 8 Treatment of Sk *ava*

Sk *ava* generally becomes *o* in Aś inscriptions When *ā* > *o* > *ava* in Sk conjugation, in Aś inscriptions we get either *ava* or *o*

Sk *avarodhana* > *orodhana* K D J, T

Sk *bharati* > *bhavati* G, *hoti* G So S,M,K,D,J,d,j,PE,sd *

§ 9 Treatment of Sk *a* in a metrically short syllable

The Sk vowel *a* is preserved in an overwhelming majority of cases There are, however, a few changes which it undergoes

(i) Change *a* > *ā* is observed in the following cases

Sk *ca* is sometimes represented as *cā* in K,D J J PE and MRE Similarly we get *nā* twice in K for Sk *ná*

Sk *rāti* The form in S,M,G and So is *rati*, but in K *lāti* TURNER points out that this latter form might be an example of the preservation of initial *ā* cf *rādi* 'play' **rānti* Similarly the form *uyāma* in K is shown to be a case of medial preservation of long *-ā* (< Sk *udyāma*)⁸

(ii) The change of *-a* > *-i* is found in Sk *madhyamā* > *majhima* in K,d,j and PE (but *majhama* in G) This change is due to the presence of the palatal semi-vowel *y* In the future form the same change occurs in *vaḍhisiti* in MRE

6 TURNER explains this form to have come from Prim Ind **trayaḍaśa* < IE **trevez dekṃ* cf BSOS 4,363

7 It is worthwhile to note that in RI X 348 also we get *nā*

8 Cf BSOS 4364 For a few apparent changes *a* > *ā* cf MEHFINDALE, BDCRI 3 233 In Sk *ātyāyika* < *ācāyika* S,M,G, *ātyāyika* K,D,J, the change seems to be due to assimilation We may also note Sk *kṛtāṇātā* > *kṛāṇātā* K, *

(iii) The change of *a* > *ā* is noticed in *tūlanā* (< Sk *tvāṇā*) and *tulā* (< Sk *tvārā*) in *ḍ* and *j* respectively,⁹ in *mūṣa* (< Sk *māṇṣa* or *maruṣya*) in *D*, *J*, *PE* and *MRE*,¹⁰ and in *mūta*-¹¹ (< Sk *matā*-) in *K*, *S*, *M*, *Ksb*, *Rdh*, *Rp*

Sk *uccāvaca* > *ucāvaca* Major RE due to assimilation (G gives *ucavaca* also)

Sk *udapāna* > *udupāna* in *M*, *K*, *D*, *J*, *T* On the basis of this correspondence the change *-a* > *-u* may be explained away as due to assimilation. But it is also possible to derive *udu* < Sk *-uḍu* 'water' The Sk word *uḍu* probably goes back to *ṛdu* 'sweet or pleasant' Cf *ṛdupd* *Rgveda* VIII 77 11 'drinking what is sweet or pleasant'

Sk *auśadhā* (< *ośadhi*-) The forms that are obtained are *ośudha* in *S* and *osuḍha* in *G*, *K*, *D* and *J*, however, give the form *osadha* HULTZSCH observes that the change *-a* > *-u* noticed in *S* and *G* is due to the preceding vowel *o* Commenting on this derivation TURNER¹² observes that an earlier hypothetical form **ośṛdha* or **osrdha* would explain the presence of *-u* or *-a* in the different forms But we have already seen that intervocalic *r* > *-a* (and not *-u*-) in *G* and *-i* or *-a* in *S* The suggestion, therefore, made by TURNER does not seem to be acceptable

The change of Sk *ca* > *cu* in *Kpb* is explained by TURNER to be due to contamination with *tu* Cf *Gaṇiṃh and Pālk Inscriptions*, p 10

(iv) The change of *a* > *e* in *meṇatī* *S* (Sk *manyate*) is probably due to the influence of the palatal *y* in the following syllable (Cf HLZ p lxxxiv) Similarly Sk *śālyaka* > *-seyaka* *Rdh*, *Mth*, *Rp* and *-sayaka* *T*, *Ksb* (cf HLZ p cx1) The form *sayame* (Sk *samyama*-) only at *M* is either due to preceding *y* or is a mistake

(v) Initially *a* is dropped in *pi* < Sk *api* in all versions For a few other instances of initial elision cf Sk **ahakam* > *hakam* *K*, *D*, *J*, *PE*, *MRE*, in the west and north-west, however, we get *aham* Similarly Sk *aṅghanī* > **araghanī* > **raghanī* > *laghanī* *PE* In compounds, Sk *-adhyakṣa* > *dhyakṣa* *K*, *-jākṣa* *G*, *M*, *-dhyakṣa* *S* We may also cite the instance of Sk *asmi* > *sumi* *MRE*

(vi) In the final position the vowel *-a* is preserved in many cases In a few cases, however, it is dropped or is changed to *-ā*, *-e* or *-o*

1 The Vowel *-a* > *-ā* in compounds as,

Sk *sāra-vṛddhi* > *śālā-vāddhi* *K*, but *sāra* *G*, *śālā* *K*, *sala* *S*, *M*

Sk *ardha-trika* > *adhātīya* *br*, *sd*, but *adhātīya* in other *MRE* The change here may be due to the simplification of the following cluster

2 It becomes *-ā* also when the final consonant is dropped The change occurs mostly in the north and the east

Sk *yāvat* > *āvā* *Rdh*, *Mth*, in other edicts we get *-a* at the end

Sk *samyak* > *samyā* *D*, *J*, *K*, *samma* *S*, *samyā* *G*, *M*

3 In some cases the final *-a* is lengthened even when there is no loss of final consonant

Sk *dha* > *āhā* *K*, *D*, *J*, *PE*, *yr* *āha* *G*, *K*, *J*, *PE* and *br* and *sd*

9. It may be noted that in Vedic times the word *tvār* was pronounced as **tvār* Hence **tvārāṇā* > *tūlanā* or *tulā* Similarly in *PE* we get *suve* < Vedic *svah*

10 The change here appears to be due to analogy with *purisa* < Sk *pūruṣa*

11 Due to the presence of *m* The vowel *a* is preserved in *matā* at *k*, *d*, *j*, *T*, *M*,

12 BSOI 4 363,

Sk *yātra*¹³ > *yatā* K, other edicts, including K, give forms with -a at the end

Sk *ātha* > *athā* yr

The change is sometimes observed in the terminations of declension

Sk *bhayēna* > *bhayenā* PE

Sk *jānapadasya* > *jānapadasā* K,T *jānapadasa* G,D,PE

4 The loss of visarga The visarga at the end is lost in these inscriptions and the preceding vowel -a sometimes undergoes the following changes

(i) Change -ah > -ā

Sk. *Magah* > *Magā* G, *Makā* K, *Maka* S,M

(ii) Change -ah > o This is generally found in G S

Sk *yāśah* > *yaso* G,D,J *yaśo* or *yaśo* K, *yaso* M

Sk *vayah* > *vayo* PE

(iii) Change -ah > -e is generally met with in edicts other than G and S

Sk *jānah* > *jane* S,M,K,D,J,PE, but *jano* S,G

Sk *-priyah* > *-pīye* everywhere, but *pīyo* or *pīyo* S,M,G

§ 10 Treatment of the vowel *a* in a metrically long syllable The vowel, though mostly preserved, becomes *ā* in a few cases¹⁴

Sk **rājñā-ka* > *rājñāka* G, yr, *rajuka* S,M, *lajñāka* K,D,PE

Sk *vaktavya* > *vātavā* bh, but *vatava* S, *vatavya* G, *vataviya* M,K, D,d,J, and Mysore group

Sk *pūnarvasu* > *punāvāsu* PE

Sk *anyātra* > *ānata* K, but *anata* K,D, *añātra* S,M,G, *annata* D J PE

The change of -a > -ī in a metrically long syllable is found in Sk *gyhastha* > *gihītha* K,T, but *gahatha* K,M, *gharasta* G, and *grahatha* S The fact that both the forms with -ī and -a are found in K shows that this treatment is dependent upon the corresponding change of *ṛ* > *a*- or *i*-

§ 11 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically short syllable The vowel is overwhelmingly preserved Yet it undergoes the following few changes

1 Change *i* > *a* due to dissimilation is observed in

Sk *pīṣṭikā* > *kāṣṭikā* T, Rdh, Mth Rp but *kīṣṭikā* Ksb

Sk *pṛthivī* > *-pūthavī* d It must be noted that the Sk vowel -i which becomes -a is a svarabhakti vowel

2 Change (v)i > u- is observed in such cases as

Sk *dvitīya* > *duṭīya* ng, kq

Sk *svīd* > *su* d, j

3 Change *i* > e- may be witnessed in Sk *tri dasa* > *tredaśa* M, *tedasa* K, D, but *tidāśa* s¹⁵

13 In Vedic Sk we get the form *yatrā* also

14 Besides the instances noted above also cf *sāva* (< Sk *sārva*-) at K other versions including K show short *a*; Sk *dāksma* > *-dākhma* T M, Ksb, Rp, but *-dakhnā* Rdh, Mth, Sk *āgatya* > *āgāca* rm, ng, Sk *pranapti* > *panāti* K, but *panati* D, *panati* M, *pranati* S

15 For G *tridasa* cf *supra* §6.

4. The vowel *i* is often lengthened in prepositions, suffixes and before the loss of final consonant or visarga.

- Sk. *pratibhāga* > *paṭibhāga*- G, *paṭibhāga*- KS T almost invariably gives *paṭi*- for Sk *prati*-
- Sk *-abhikāra* > *-abhikāra*- G, *-abhikāla*- D, *-abhikāra*- S.M., *-abhikāla*- K.
- Sk *sthitika* > *-ṭhitika*- D,J,PE,sc,bh,br,sd,Kpb, but *-ṭhitika*- M,T,ru,s,b, *-ṭhitika* S,T,Mi, *-ṭhitikya*- K.
- Sk *lipik* > *lipi* d,j, but *lipi* D,sn.
- Sk. *prakṛtiḥ* > *paṃkū* sd, *paṃkū* br,sd, but *pakṛti* jtr
- Sk *etāsmun* > *etamhī* G, but *etasi* d, j

This change in the quantity of the vowel is also sometimes observed before the case terminations

- Sk *jñātiṣu* > *jñātiṣu* G, also cf *amteṣvāsisu* yr
- Sk *rājabhīḥ* > **lāpḥi* > *lājihī* T
- 5 Initially *i*- is lost only in a few cases
- Sk *idānim* > *dāni* MRE (*dāni* Kpb) but *idāni* S,M,K
- Sk *iti* > *ti* in all versions, *iti* is sometimes obtained in G,D

§ 12 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically long syllable The vowel is mostly preserved, but sometimes it is changed to *ɪ* or *e*

- Sk *nir√lakṣ-* > *nīlakṣa*- PE Rp once gives *nīlakṣa*-
- Sk. *viṃśati-* > *viśati-* rm, ng, bb and other PE Once in *sataviśati-vasa*, however, T gives short *i*- The presence of the long vowel may even be regarded as the preservation of IE long *i*- which is noticed in AV *viśati*, Lat *uigintī*¹⁶
- Sk *cikitsā-* > *cikichā-* G, but *cikichā-* S,M,DJ
- Sk *avīhimsā-* > *avīhīsā-* G, but *avīhīsā-* in other versions, *avīhimsā-* G,T

The change of *i*- > *e*- may be noticed in the following plausible example Sk **i-tra* > *eta* G,D, *etra* S, *hetā* So,K,D,J,Kq,S

§ 13 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically short syllable Though the vowel is preserved in a large majority of cases, sometimes it becomes *a*, *ɪ*, *ū* or *o*

1 Change *u* > *a* may be instanced in Sk *pūnar* > *pana* S,M,D,J, (but *punā* S,M,G,K,) and Sk *gurū-* > *garu-* S,G,yr, *garuta-* br, *gakti*- K (but *guru-* S,M,G, *gulu-* K,D,J) But as has been already noticed the latter forms are to be compared with Sk *gāriyas-* and *garīṣṭha-*

2 Change *u* > *ɪ* occurs in such cases as,

- Sk. *pūruṣa-* > *pūṛṣa*-¹⁷ PE, d, j
- Sk *mānuṣa-* > *mūṛṣa*-¹⁸ K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *manuṣa*- S,M,K, *manusa* G, *mānusa*- Kpb
- Sk *Purmda-* > *Pīlada*- K, but *Pūlada*- S, *Pāṛmda*- G, and *Pālmda*- M

3, Change *u* > *ū* occurs sometimes before case terminations

- Sk *bahūbhik* > *bahūhī* G,D,J, but *bahuhī* S,K

¹⁶ See BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 37

¹⁷ The vowel which undergoes the change is a svarabhakti vowel of the change *i* > *a* in similar circumstances, *supra* § 11.

¹⁸ This is only an analogical form after *purisa-*.

Sk. *bahūṣu* > *bahūsu* D,J,PE

Sk. *gurūṣu* > *gurūsu* yr

It is also lengthened due to loss of visarga

Sk. *sādhūḥ* > *sādhū* D,T, other versions give short -u

Sk. *vaseyūḥ* > *vasevū* D, others give short -u

For some sporadic lengthening of the vowel u cf,

Sk. $\sqrt{yuj-}$ > $\sqrt{yūja-}$ d,j

Sk. *pratyupagamana-* > *pacūpagamana-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but
pacupagamana- Ksb

Sk. **mādhuratā-* > *mādhuratā-* G, but other versions show short u

The vowel u is lengthened in its final position when followed by *ti* (< Sk *iti*),
or sometimes even without it

Sk. *jānantu iti* > *jānantū ti* MRE

Sk. *bhavalu iti* > *hotū ti* PE, also cf *ālādhamlū ti*

Sk. *yujāntu* > *yujantū* D, but *yujantū* M,G,K, also cf *pamthesū* G,
but *matesu* in other versions

Sometimes, however, the vowel -ā- is shortened in Sandhi and in compounds

§ 14 Treatment of the vowel u in a metrically long syllable The vowel is only
exceptionally lengthened in such cases as

Sk. *anāyuktika-* > *anāvūtiya-* d, but *anāvūtiya-* j

Sk. **nuṣṭhurya-* > *nuṣṭhūtiya-* d, j, PE

Sk. *anupratīpanna-* > *anūpaṭīpanna-* T The change may even be attri-
buted to analogy with similar lengthening of i in prepositions

§ 15 In the case of long vowels ā, ī and ū it is to be remembered that as the
Kharoṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the vowels such long vowels are
absent in S and M Hence in these versions at S and M the short vowels sometimes
stand for long ones

§ 16 Treatment of the vowel ā followed by a single consonant The vowel is
almost invariably preserved Such cases as *dana-* (for *dāna-*), *papa-* (for *pāpa-*)
are clearly due to scribal mistakes -*aparadha-* in G is to be derived from the root
 $\sqrt{radh-}$ used in the same sense as $\sqrt{rādh}$ ¹⁹

Sk. *mahānasa-* > *mahanasa-* D, (S,M) but *mahānasa* G,K

Sk. *mahāmātra-* > *mahamata-* Kq, but other versions give forms with
mahā-

Sk. *mahādhanā-* > *mahadhana-* yr

The vowel -ā in its final position ²⁰ is sometimes shortened in the declined forms
of the nom sg or inst sg

Sk. *rājā* > *rāja* G, *lājā* K,D,T,bb, *laja* S,M, but *rājā* G, *lājā* K,D,J,T,b

Sk. *icchā* > *icha* S,M,K,d,j, but *icchā* G,K,PE

Sk. *ātmānā* > *atana* Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *atanā* T, Ksb

Similarly the vowel ā is sometimes shortened in the eastern dialect when it is
followed by *m* (which is changed into anusvāra) or when the visarga at the end is
lost

19 Cf HULTSCH, p lvi

20. It is perhaps shortened due to the loss of final consonant in Sk. *syāt* > *siya* PE, j,
(S, M), but *siyā* K, d, j, PE, MRE, Sk. *manāk* (?) > *mna* or *mana* PE (*mnā* M)

Sk *bhūtdnām* > *bhūtdnām* (G), D, J, K, T, but *bhūtdnām* G

Sk. *putrāh* > *puta* K, D, J, but *putrā* G (*putra* S, M)

§ 17 Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a consonant cluster. It is in this treatment that the regional distinction is clearly noticed. Whereas in the Western division the long vowel is preserved, it is usually shortened at other places.

Sk *ātyayika* > *ācāyika* G, (*acayika* S,M) but *atīyāyika* K,D,J

Sk *mārdava* > *mārdava* G, *madava* K,T

Sk *prakrānta* > *pakamta* MRE

When a cluster with a nasal follows the long vowel *ā*, it is shortened to *a* even in G. If the long *ā* is preserved in the inscriptions then the anusvāra is dropped or the cluster is assimilated

Sk *Tāmaparni* > *Tambapamni* G,K,J,S, *tambaparu* M

Sk *klānta* > *klānta* d, j

Sk *kvānti* > *chānti* G, *chamti* S, *khamti* K

Sk *ā√jñap* > *ā√ñapa* G, *ā√naṣa* K,D,J,T,Kb *ā√naṣa* br, (*a√naṣa* S,M)

Sk *ātmanā* > *atanā* PE, *atane* d, j

§ 18 Treatment of the vowel *i* followed by a single consonant. In this position the vowel is fairly well preserved. It is only in the Kālsī version that the vowel is often represented as short one. In *timmi* (< Sk *trīmi*) we find that the vowel is shortened and a nasal is added to it. Therefore such forms as *devinam* and *anusathim* may be regarded according to HULTZSCH, as defective spelling for *devinnam* and *anusathimmi*

Sk *jīva* > *jīva* K (S,M) but *jīva* G,D,J,PE

Sk *dīpana* > *dīpana* K (S,M), but *dīpana* G

Sk *śīla* > *śīla* G,D,K (*śīla* S,M)

The nom sg of fem nouns ending in -ī generally ends in long -ī in G and the Mysore group, but it ends in short -i elsewhere. In the case of the nom sg of mas nouns ending in -in, the short vowel is noticed at G,S,M,PE, and the long vowel at D,J,Ksb and i in K and MRE.

For some sporadic shortenings of *i* cf. the following instances

Sk *kapilīkā* > *kapilika* Rdh, Mth, Rp *kapilīkā* ksb, but *kapilika* T

Sk *mśrībhūta* > *mśrībhūta* mk

Sk *dvītiya* > *dvītiya* ng,kq

Sk *āśvāsaniya* > *asvāsaniya* d, j, (also cf *dvītiya* d)

The long vowel *i* is changed to its guṇa substitute in Sk *īdṛśa* > *hedisa* K,D,J, sn, *edisa* S,M.

§ 19 Treatment of the vowel *i* before a consonant cluster. As is noticed in the case of the vowel *ā* before a consonant cluster, this vowel also is usually shortened in all edicts except at G.

Sk *kīrti* > *kīti* G, *kīti* M,D,J, *kīrti* S, *kīti* G,K

Sk *īrṣyā* > *īrṣā* d, j, *īrṣyā* PE.²¹

Sk *dīghāyus* > *dīghāvusa* br, sd, but *dīghāvusa* sd, jtr (*dīgha* HLZ)

21. The long vowel is, however, preserved in PE in the form *paṭikkā* (< Sk. *parikkā*)

§ 20 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a simple consonant It is usually kept long in all versions except those at S,M, (and K) The form *thuba-* occurring at ng, is not to be derived from Sk *slūpa-* but from $\sqrt{\text{stubbh-}}$ The short vowel in *bhuya-* (Sk. *bhūyas*), which is found in Major RE suggests that it is probably to be read as *bhuyya-* For some irregular shortenings of *ū* at K we may compare such instances as—

Sk *sūpa-* > *supa-* K, (S, M), but *sūpa-* G,D,J

Sk *mayūra-* > *maṇula-* K (S,M), but *majūla-* J

Sk *pūjā-* > *puja-* (S, M), but *pūjā-* G, PE

The treatment of the long *ū* in Sk *śūsṛūṣā* is rather irregular Cf *sususā-* K,J,T, *susrusā-* and *susumsā-* (note the compensatory addition of anusvāra) G, $\sqrt{\text{sususa-}}$ D, jtr But *śūsṛūṣā-* G, *susūsā-* D,PE, $\sqrt{\text{susūsā-}}$ J, br, sd, (*susrūṣa-* S,M)

§ 21 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a consonant cluster In this case the vowel is shortened in all versions including the one at G

Sk *-pūrva-* > *-purva-* or *-puva-* G, *-pruva-* S,M, *puluva-* K,D,J

Sk *dūṣya-* > *dusa-* sn, sc, kb

The long vowel is, however, met with in such forms as *-sūla-* (< Sk *sūtra-*) at bh, *-sūriya-* and *-śūliya-* (< Sk *sūrya-*) at sc and nj respectively

§ 22 Treatment of the vowel *e* It is preserved in these inscriptions almost rigorously even when followed by a consonant cluster It is only in such rare forms as *ika-* (Sk *eka-*) at sn that the vowel undergoes any change In S, however, a tendency is noticed to change the final *-e* to *i*²²

Sk *dvē* > *duvi* S, but *duṭe* elsewhere

Sk *rajānah* > (**rajāne*) > *rajam* S, but *rajane* M and *lājāne* D,J,T.

§ 23 Treatment of the vowel *o* This vowel is also extremely well preserved even when followed by a consonant cluster It is shortened to *u* only as a sandhi peculiarity

Sk *ekona-* > *ekuna-* bb

Sk *prajotpādana-* > *pajupadana* S

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 24 Generally, simple consonants are well preserved both initially and medially The processes of sonantisation, loss of occlusion and others by which intervocal consonants suffer numerous changes in later Prakrits, though not altogether absent in Aś inscriptions, have only just begun to appear in them The law of cerebralisation too has only partial application²³

§ 25 Gutturals

(a) On the whole the gutturals are initially preserved In G, the form *gharasta-* is not an instance of initial aspiration, for the MIA base *ghara-* is to be derived from IE **g^hhoros-*, and not from Sk *grha-* (for the latter derivation cf V 432 and H 2144)

(b) Medially the gutturals undergo a few changes²⁴ which are detailed below

22 For a similar tendency in the Kharoṣṭhi documents of Chinese Turkestan cf BURROW, §1

23 A few changes which are due to assimilation and dissimilation as well as some other exceptions are generally indicated in ins

24 Change *-k-* > *-kh-* due to assimilation Sk *akarkasa-* > *akhakhasa-* d

1. Change of surd to sonant is instanced by *-k-* > *-g-* in the East.

Sk *-lokā-* > *-loga-* J, but *-loka-* everywhere else

Sk *adhikṛiya-* > *adhigicya* bh.

The foreign name Antiochos appears as *Antiyoga-* K (M), but *Antiyoka-* S, G, D, J

2. Change of a guttural to *y* found with *-k²⁵* and *-g-* has occurred only in the suffix. The change is perhaps an eastern characteristic (?)

Sk. *anāyuktika-* > *anāvūtiya-* d, J

Sk (*paśu-* etc) + *upa-ga-* > *upaya-* S, M, G, K, D, but *-upaga-* G, K, D, J, d, T

Sk *ardhatrika* > *adhātiya-* MRE

3. Change of a sonant to surd is instanced by *-g-* > *-k-* in the North, North-West and the South

Sk *Maga-* > *Maka-* S, M, K, but *Maga-* G. Also cf. the name Antigonos which appears as *Amilekna-* S, M, K, G

Sk. *-upa-ga-* > *-upaka-* S, M, cf. above for other forms

Sk *ārogya-* > **āroga-* > *droka-* yr, but *ārogiya-* br, sd

4. Change *-gh* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk. *laghū-* > *lahu-* G, K, T

§ 26 Palatals

- (a) In their initial position they are well preserved

- (b) In the medial position the following few changes may be noted

1. Change of a surd to sonant is found with *-c* > *-j-* in the non-Western regions

Sk *acala-* > *ajala-* d, but *acala-* J

Sk *sāmkuci* > *samkuja-* PE

2. Change of a palatal to *-y-* is instanced only by *-j-* in the North-West

Sk *Kamboja-* > *Kamboya-* S, but *-j-* is given by M, K, G

Sk *rājan-* > *raya-* S, but other edicts give the forms with *-j-*

Sk *samāja-* > *samaya-* S *samāja-* S, M, G, K, D, J

3. Change of a sonant to surd is found with *-j-* > *-c-*. Its appearance in the Western and North-Western regions may be attributed to the Eastern influence

Sk *Kamboja-* > *Kamboca-* D, for other forms cf. above

Sk *vraja* > *vaca-* D, J, G, K *vraca-* S, M *√vraca-* S

§ 27 Cerebrals

- (a) The forms with initial cerebral are only conspicuous by their absence in Aś inscriptions. The loss of initial cerebralisation is found in a single instance

Sk *ḍuḥ-* > *duḍḍi-* or *daḍḍi-* PE

- (b) In the medial position the cerebrals, with the exception of *-n-* are well preserved²⁵

1. Change of *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-* occurs in the Centre and the North

Sk *-vāṭikā-* > *-vaḍikā-* Kq, *-vaḍikyā-* T

2. Change *-ḍ-* > *-ṭ-* occurs in the non-Western groups

Sk *eḍaka-* > *eṭaka-* PE, but *eḍaka-* T, Rdh, Mth

²⁵ The forms *diyadhā-* M, K and *divadhūya-* MRE are derived from Sk *dvikārdha-* and instanced as the change *-k-* > *-y-* by HULTZSCH. But these forms are to be derived from *divyārdha-*; also cf. TURNER, *Gavimath and Palkigundu Insc.* p 11, in 2.

²⁶ Only *-ṭh* > *-ṭ-* by loss of aspiration Cf. Sk. *kamaṭha-* > *kapaṭa-* PE.

Sk *dvādaśā* > *duvāḍasa* and *duvāḷasa* PE; also cf *pañnaḍasa* and *pañnaḷasa* (< Sk *pañcadaśā*) in PE

3 The cerebral -*n̥*- is usually preserved in the Western and North-Western groups, and at Mysore and Kopbāl in the South. Elsewhere it is changed to -*n̥*-.²⁷

Sk *kāraṇa* > *kāraṇa*- S,G, *kālana*- K,PE, *kāraṇa*- yr

Sk *paurāṇa* > *porāṇa*- br, sd, jtr, *porāṇa*- yr

Sk *sāvāna* > *sāvāna*- br, sd, jtr, kpb, *sāvāna*- ru,s,yr,T

§ 28 Dentals

(a) In the initial position the dentals are well preserved. The change of *t* > *d*- is found in a solitary case in the North

Sk *toṣa* > *dosa*- K, but *toṣa*- S,M, *tosa*- G,J,d

(b) In the medial position though they are usually preserved, the following few changes may be noted

1 Change of -*t*- > -*d*- is met with in the North and the North-West

Sk *hitā* > *hida*- S,M,K, but *hitā*- S,M,G,K,D,J,PE

Sk *-yātṛā* > *-yadṛa*- M *-yātā*- G,K,D

Sk *hāpayiṣyatī* > *hapeṣadī* S, but -*tī* in other edicts

2 Change -*d*- > -*t*- is perhaps instanced in the East

Sk *pratī*√*pad*- cf the forms of *paṭi*√*pāta*- in j. The derivation of these forms is however highly doubtful. The versions at d and T give forms with *paṭi*√*pāda*-

3 Change -*dh*- > -*h*- by loss of occlusion

Sk *nyagródha* > *ngoha*- T, bb

Sk *vī*√*dhā* > *vī*√*daha*- PE

4 Change -*dh*- > -*d*- by loss of aspiration

Sk **idha* > **hīdha* > *hida* in all versions except G, *idha* G, JOHANSSON connects *hida* with Vedic *idā* 'now'

Sk *skandha* > *-khamda*- G perhaps by metathesis of aspiration, but *-kamdha*- S,M,K,D

5 Loss of -*t*- and insertion of -*v*- is found in the numeral

Sk *cāturdaśa* > *cāvudasa*- PE

6 Loss of -*d*- is met with only in the West-²⁸ (and the South)

Sk *tādṛśa* > **tādrīsa* > *tārīsa* G, but *tādīsa*- K,D,J, *tadīśa* S,M

Sk *yādṛśa* > **yādrīsa* > *yārīsa*- G,yr but *ādīsa*- K,D,J,M, *yadīśa*- S

§ 29 Labials

(a) In the initial position they are well preserved.²⁹

1 Change of *b* > *p*- is met with only in a single instance in the North-West

Sk *bāḍham* > *paḍhām* S (but S also gives *baḍhatarām*), elsewhere we get *bāḍham* or *bāḍha*

27 As exceptions *garāṇa*- (< Sk *garhaṇā*-) at S, *bramāṇa*- (< Sk *brāhmaṇā*-) at M, and *khana*- (< Sk *kṣana*-) at d may be noted

28 This loss of occlusion in the West compares well with the later Māhārāṣṭrī characteristic.

29 *p* > *ph*- due to assimilation in Sk *paruṣa* > *phaluṣa*- d, j. *p* > *k*- due to dissimilation in Sk *pīṣikā* > *kāṣikā* PE (*ku*- Ksb)

2 Change *bh-* > *h-* occurs only in the forms of the root $\sqrt{bhū-}$ in all versions perhaps as an Eastern characteristic (cf *hoti*, *hotu* etc), for the forms with *bh-* occur only in the West and the North-West (cf such forms as *bhoti*, *bhavati*, *bhave*)

(b) In the medial position the following few changes which occur only in limited instances may be noted

1 Change *-p-* > *-b-* is met with only in the North at Delhi-Topra

Sk *hpi-* > *-libi-* T, but *hpi-* occurs in Major Rock Edicts, MRE and other PE (including T)

2 Change *-p-* > *-v-* is noted in a single case

Sk *pra√āp-* > $\sqrt{pāva-}$ s, $\sqrt{pāpa-}$ elsewhere

3 Change *-bh-* > *-p-* is apparently due to mistake or it may be due to assimilation

Sk *prati-bhoga-* > *pati-poga-* Rdh, but *-bhoga-* in other PE, S,M,K.

4 Change *-bh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk $\sqrt{labh-}$ > $\sqrt{laha-}$ d,j,kb

Sk instr pl term *-bhik* > *-hi* in all versions

5 Change *-bh-* > *-b-* by loss of aspiration³⁰

Sk **stubha-* > *thuba-* ng If the form is derived from Sk *stūpa-* then the change *-p-* > *-b-* is instanced

6 Change *-m* > *-ph-* by metathesis of aspiration

Sk *kamaṭha-* > **kapaṭha-* > *kapaṭa-* PE

§ 30 Semivowels With the exception of *r* which is dialectically changed to *l* in certain groups, semivowels are normally preserved in these inscriptions

§ 31 The semi-vowel *y*

1 The semi-vowel *-y-* > *-j-* in one instance

Sk *mayūra-*³¹ > *majura-* S, M *majūla-* K, J

2 It is elided both initially and intervocally In the initial position, elision occurs mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns

Sk *yātra* > *yatra* or *yatā* S,M,G,K,s, *ata* K,D,J,T

Sk *yāthā* > *yathā* S,M,G,K,PE,sd, *athā* K,D,J,PE

Sk *yāvat* > *yava-* S,M,G,PE, ru, *āvā* or *avam* S,M,G,K,D,PE

Sk *yādṛśa-* > *yāṛśa-* G, *yadīśa* S *ādīśa-* M,K,D,J

Sk *yat* (adverb) > *yam* Major RE and Mysore group, *am* M,K,d,j

Sk *yat* (Pron) > *ye*, *yam* or *ya* S,M,GK,MRE, *e* or *am* M,K,D,J,jtr

It can thus be noticed that the Eastern dialect drops the initial *y-* but the Western dialect favours its preservation Its occasional elision in the non-Eastern areas is very likely due to the Eastern influence

Intervocally the elision is observed exclusively in the North-Western region

Sk *priyā-* > *priā-* S (about 4 or 5 times), all other versions including S give *priya-* or *piya-*

Sk **ekatiya-* > **ekatiya-* > *ekatha-* S, but *ekatiya-* K,D,J,M

Sk *dyayadha-* > **diyadha-* > S, but *diyadha-* M,K, *diyadhya-* MRE

30 Similar loss of aspiration is perhaps instanced in *-ph-* > *-p-* in the form *tupaka* (gen 2nd pers. pron) at ru, but cf *tuphāka-* d, j, *tuphākam* sn

31. The G form *mora* is regarded by TURNER to be a loan word, cf BSOS 4 363.

It is interesting to note that in all these cases where S drops intervocal -y-, the Mānsehrā version which is so near to it always preserves -y-. But it is well-known that the latter has more 'Magadhusms'

3. In some cases -y- is elided and -v- is developed mostly in the presence of u. The tendency is seen in the non-Western regions

Sk *dirghāyus-* > *dirghāvusa-* br, sd, jtr

Sk *āyukti-* > *āvuti-* d, PE, but *āyuti-*³² j

Sk *viṣaya-* > *viṣava-* S, sn, *visava-* K, but *viṣaya-* M and *visaya-* G

The interchange between -y- and -v- is also noticed in the optative term -*eyu* -*evu*

Sometimes y- is developed initially³³ perhaps as a non-Western characteristic

Sk *evā* > *yevā* M,K,D,I,PE, but *eva* S,K,G

§ 32 Initially r- is preserved in the Western and North-Western divisions³⁴ but is consistently changed to l- in other places

Sk **rājñ-ka-* > *rājuka-* S,M,G, *lājñka-* K,D,PE

Sk *rājan-* > *rājā* S,M,G,So, *lājā*, K,D,I,PE and MRE

Intervocally -r- submits to the same treatment as in the initial position, with only a few exceptions³⁵. Among MRE the South Indian inscriptions at Mysore, Kopbāl and Yerrāguḍi preserve -r- but at Maskī -r- > -l- (or -r-) Other MRE in the East and the Centre change -r- > -l-, with only a few exceptions at the latter place

Sk	G(SO)	S,M	K,D,I	PE
<i>cāraṇa-</i>	- <i>cāraṇa-</i>	- <i>cāraṇa-</i>	- <i>calana</i>	- <i>calana</i>
<i>cirā-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cila</i>	<i>cila-</i>
Sk	PE	MRE		
		Mysore, Yr, Kpb	Other MRE	
<i>paurāṇa-</i>		<i>porāṇa-</i> , or - <i>na-</i>		
<i>sātireka-</i>		<i>sātireka-</i>	<i>sātireka-</i> ru	
<i>ṽatsara-</i>		<i>-vachara-</i>	(<i>sātireka-</i> mk)	
			<i>-vachala</i> s	
			(<i>vachara-</i> ru)	
<i>cirā-</i>		<i>cira-</i>	<i>cila-</i> s, b	
			(<i>cira-</i> ru)	
<i>sūrya-</i>	- <i>śukhya-</i> nj		Also cf <i>galava-</i> bh,	
	- <i>śukhya-</i> T		Sk <i>udāra-</i> > <i>uḍala-</i>	
	- <i>surīya-</i> sc		ru, mk, s, b etc	
			Sk √ <i>kar-</i> > √ <i>kala-</i>	
			mk	

§ 33 Initially l- is well preserved. Intervocally it is changed to -ḍ- in just a few cases

32 This reading is accepted by HLZ. Others read *āvuti-*.

33 For similar development in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §32.

34. The forms of the root √*laca-* at G, S, M (S has √*racā-* also) are regarded by HULTZSCH as 'Magadhusms'. But in Sk itself we have √*loc-* connected with √*roc-*.

35. Sk, *sāra-* > *sāla-* S, M, K, but *sāra-* G. Sk *aparibodha-* (?) > *apahbodha-* S,M,K,D

Sk *mahlā* > *mahlā*- G.

Sk. *Cola* > *Coḍa*- Major RE

Sk. *Kerala* > *Keraḍa*- S, but *-la-* in other versions.

Sk. *ḍuli* > *daḍi-* or *duḍi-* PE

§ 34. The semi-vowel *v*.

1 Initially *v-* is generally preserved, its stray change to *p*³⁶ being due to assimilation. Thus Sk *vipula* > *pīpula*- ru, elsewhere we get *vipula*-

2. In the cluster *dv*, *v* is changed to *b* in the West and North-West

Sk *dvādaśā* > *dbāḍasa*- G. *badaya*- S, but other versions give *duvādasa*- or *duvādasa*-

3 Intervocally *-v-* is normally preserved. When clustered with *t*, it is changed to *-p-* in the West (cf *dv* > *ḍb*- above)

Sk *catvārah* > *catpāro* G, *cature* S, *catāh* K.

Absolutive term *-lvā* > *-lpā* G, *-tu* in other versions

4 Intervocally *-v-* is lost only in the West [cf above §27(b) 3 and footnote]

Sk *sthavira* > *thara*- G

5 *v-* is initially developed³⁷ before *u-* in the following

Sk *ūḍha* > *vuḍha*- S,M,G,K

Sk *√uc* > *√vuca*- S,M,G, *vula* G,D

Sk *upta* > *vuta*- S

§ 35 Sibilants

In MIA languages the three Sk sibilants are often merged together into the single dental sibilant. In Aś inscriptions which are the best representatives of the early MIA we find a threefold treatment of the sibilants in all their positions.

(i) S,M preserve the distinction between the three sibilants, (ii) the rest, except K, show only the dental sibilant *s*. It is important to note that even the Eastern dialect shows *s* and not *ś*, (iii) as regards the treatment of the sibilants in K it would be best to quote the remarks made by HULTZSCH: "In edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Gīmar one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s* (though *-ś-* occurs in K IV twice. cf *vaśa*, *Piyadasinā*). In a few cases *ś* is used where Sk would require it. But in the majority of instances *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible. To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilants besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant (*s*). In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical."

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Sk *śrāvaka* > *sravaka*- S, M, *srāvāpaka*- G, *sāvaka*- K, D, J

Sk *śusrūṣā* > *suśruṣa*- S,M, *susumsā*- G, *susūsā*- K,D,J,PE *susūsa*-, MRE

Sk *-daśā* > *-daśa*- S,M, *-dasa*- G,K,D,J,PE (*-ḍasa*-), MRE

Sk *mānuṣa* > *manuṣa* S,M,K, *manuṣa*- K, *manusa*- G,K,D,J, *munisa*- PE, MRE, *mānuṣa*- Kpb

The following few exceptions may, however, be noted

36 The form *vāta* at ru I. 4 is connected by BÜHLER with Sk *paratra*, but by HULTZSCH with Sk. *vāra-taḥ*

37 This is a characteristic of local pronunciation in the Nīya Prakrit, cf. BURROW §32

38 Cf. Aś Ins p lxxii, also cf. Jules BLOCH, "Aśoka et la Magadhi" BSOS 6.291-95.

- (a) In the treatment of palatal ś .

Sk. *śuśrūṣā* > *suśruṣa*- S,M Note the initial *s*- and not *ś*- due to dissimilation

Sk. *anuśocana*- > *anusocana*- S

Sk. *Śākya* > *Saka*- mk. Note initial *ś* instead of *s*-

- (b) In the treatment of the cerebral ṣ

Sk. *abhiṣikta*- > *abhiṣita*- S,M, *abhiṣita*- nj Thus *-s*- and *-ṣ*- occur where they are not expected to be

Sk. *mānuṣa* > *manuṣa*- S,M Note *-ś*- for *-s*-

Sk. *viṣaya*- > *viṣava*- sn

Sk. *eṣah* > *eṣe* kq

Sk. *varṣa*- > *vaṣa*- mk

The other exceptions in S and M occur in terminations cf loc pl *yesu*, gen pl *ubhayesam* (M), *ubhayesu* (S), futures in *-iṣati* and *-eṣati* etc

- (c) In the treatment of the dental s

Sk. *samśayika*- > *śaśayika*- M (due to assimilation)

Sk. *satya*- > *śaca*- sd

Sk. *svargā*- > *śvaga*- b

Sk. *śāśana*- > *śaśana*- S, M (due to assimilation)

Sk. *upāsaka*- > *upāsaka*- mk

Other exceptions occur in terminations cf *ṣaṣu*, *paṃcasu* etc at S, M, *Devānām-ṣṛiṣā* at kq, and *ācariyaśa* at jtr

The change of *-s*- > *-h*- is sometimes observed in the future endings like *-hatha* and *-hami*:

§ 36 The aspirate *h* is well preserved both initially and medially. It is, however, lost in a few cases in the North-West

Sk. *hastin*- > *astin*³⁹ S,M, but *hasi* G, *hathi* D,K

Sk. *ihā* > *ia* S,M, but *iha* S,M,K

Sk. *māma* Pkt. *maha* > *maa* S, other versions have *mama*

Sk. *āha* > *aa* M (once VI 26), otherwise we get *āhā*

Sk. *ahām* > *aam* M, but *aham* or *hakam* elsewhere

There are certain instances of cockneyism where *h*- is developed initially before a vowel cf

Sk. *idrīsa*- > *heḍisa*- K *heḍisa*- D,Jsn, but *edisa*- S,M, *edisa*- K,D,J, *etārīsa*- (< Sk. *etādrīsa*-) G

Sk. *evam* > *hevam* K,d,j,T,Rp,MRE, but *evam* S,M,K,D,G

Sk. **i-tra* > *hetā* So,K,D,J,kq,s, but *etra*, S,M, *eta*, G,D

§ 37 Palatalisation

By the law of palatalisation sometimes the dentals and occasionally even the gutturals are palatalised mostly in the presence of the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *y*. Except the palatalisation of *-k*- and *-g*- in the North, and that of *-t*- in the East, this feature is mainly a characteristic of the West and the North-West (and also of the South)

1 Gutturals Following gutturals are palatalised in the circumstances noted below

39. This is HULTZSCH's reading, others read *hast*-.

- (i) The gutturals *-k-* and *-g-* are palatalised⁴⁰ at K and T in the North

Sk. *nikāyā* > *nikyāya* K, but *nikāya* elsewhere

Sk. *sthitika* > *sthitika* K, but *sthitika* or *sthitika* elsewhere

Sk. *Kalnga* > *Kalngya* K, *Kalnga* elsewhere

Sk. **aṣṭa-krośika* > *aḍha-kosikya* T

Sk. *āmra-vāṣikā* > *ambā vadikya* T

- (ii) Intervocal *-kh-* when combined with *y* is once palatalised in G

Sk. *san* √*khyā* > *sachāya* G, but *samkhaya* S,M, and *samkhaye* K

- (iii) Cluster *kṣ* The treatment of this cluster is interesting inasmuch as in all positions it is palatalised in the West and the North-West,⁴¹ but assimilated to the guttural *kh* elsewhere

Sk. *kṣudrā* > *chudā*⁴² G, but *khudā* K,D,J,MRE

Sk. *kṣana* > *chana* S,M,G, but *khana* d, j

Sk. *moksa* > *mocha* S,M, but *mokha* K,D,J

Sk. *pakṣi* > *pakhi* PE

- 2 Dentals The following dentals, mostly in combination with *y*, are palatalised. We get a few instances of initial palatalisation also

- (i) Dental *t-* is initially palatalised in the East in the presence of the palatal vowel *i-*

Sk. *tiṣṭha* > √*ciṭha* M,K,D, but √*tiṭha* S, √*liṣṭa* G

- (ii) Cluster *-ty-* It is mostly palatalised in the regions other than the Eastern, where it is dissolved into *-tiy-*

Sk. *ātyayika* > *acayika*, S,M, *ātiyāyika* K,D,J

Sk. *satya* > *saca* PE, br, jtr, yr

Sk. *adhikṛtya* > *adhigicya* bh, *kaca* G

- (iii) Cluster *-ts-* (or *-tsy-*) The cluster *-ts-* is palatalised in the West and the South but assimilated to *s* elsewhere

Sk. *samvatsarā* > *samvachala* s, *-chala* 11, b1, sd, jtr, kpb, yr

Sk. *cikitsā* > *cikicha* G, *cikisā* S,M,K,D,J

But when the cluster *-ts-* does not occur in the body of the word but is due to the combination of consonants, it is assimilated to *s* everywhere

Sk. *ut-sāha* > *usāha* PE

Sk. *ut-sṛta* > *usata* S,M,G,D,J, *uṣaṭa* K

The cluster *-ty-* > *-ch-* in PE

Sk. *matsya* > *macha* PE

- (iv) Cluster *-dy-* is however, generally palatalised everywhere

Sk. *adyā* > *aja* S,M,G,K,D,J

Sk. *prati*-√*pad-ya* > (*paṭi*-) *paṇamtu* PE

But when the cluster *-dy-* does not occur in the body of the word it is assimilated to *y*

40 See HULTZSCH p LXXI and J BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryan*, p 78. Similar palatalisation of *-k-* in the suffix is observed a little later in the word *devadaśiky* in the Jogimārā cave inscription at Rāmgarh (Dist. Surguja, Chhota Nagpur Division)

41 It is found in the form *ch* in the Niya Prakrit cf BURROW, § 48

42 The exceptional cases are *khudā* or *khudra* S, M, *chana* K and (*a*) *khakha* (< Sk *adhyakṣa*-), and *samkhuta* (< Sk *sankṣipta*-) G (S)

Sk. *ud-yāna* > *uyāna*- S,M,G,K,D,J

Sk. *ud-yāma* > *uyāma*- K

(v) Cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-jh-* in all regions But the cluster *-dh-y-* is palatalised only in the West (and North-West)

Sk. *madhyama* > *majhama*- G, *majhuma*- K,d,j,PE

Sk. **mudhyapti* > *mujhapti*- Major RE, *m√jhapa*- PE

But Sk. *a-vadh-yā* > *avadhiya*- T,M₁,Ksb, *avadhya*- T,Rdh,Mth,Rp

Rk. *adh-y-akṣa* > *-(a)jhakha*- G, *-(a)jhacha*- M, but *-(a)dhiyakha*- K,
-(a)dhiyacha- S

(vi) For the palatalisation of nasals *n* and *ṇ* see below under the treatment of clusters *ny* and *ṇy*, §49 and §50

(vii) Sibilant *ś*-⁴³ > *c*- in a few cases in the East and thence in the Centre and the South

Sk. *√śak* > *√caka*- d,j,s,b,Kpb, but *√saka*- elsewhere

§ 38 Cerebralisation

By the law of cerebralisation dentals are turned into cerebrals mostly in the presence of *r*, vocalised or unvocalised, sometimes with a sibilant, and in very few cases even without any influence It will be observed that the Western dialect is the least affected by cerebralisation

1 Cerebralisation of the dental *t* It is generally cerebralised in regions other than the West

(i) Change *-(r)t-* > *-t-*

Sk. *kṛta* > *kata*- S,M,K,D,PE,MRF, but *kata*- G

Sk. *bhṛta* > *bhaṭa*- S,M,K,D, but *bnata*- G

Sk. *nivṛtta* > *nivṛṭa*- S,M

(ii) Change *-rt-* > *-t-*

Sk. *kartavya* > *kaṭava*- or *kalaviya* S,M,K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *katavya* G

Sk. *kṛti* > *kṛṭi*- M,D J, *kṛti*- S, but *kīli*- G,K

By way of exception *-rt-* > *-ṭ-* in G in the word *saṃvaṭa* < Sk. *saṃvartā*

(iii) Change *-(r)t-* > *-t-*

Sk. *prati* > *paṭi*- in all versions including G though G gives *prati*- about four times

(iv) Change *st* > *ṭh* occurs very rarely, for usually it is assimilated to *th*

Sk. *stambha* > *ṭhabha*- ru, but *-ṭhabha*- or *-ṭhanbha*- Γ,ru,s

Sk. *āsvasta* > *asvaṭha*- M₁(once), but *asvaṭha*- PE

Sk. *anusasti* > *anusatṭhi*- K, So, but *-anusatṭhi*- K,D,J,T, *anusastṭi*- and *-sastṭi*- G, *-anuśastṭi*- C,M Thus here in G, *t* in combination with *s* is cerebralised to *-sṭ-* (cf. the change *-sth-* > *-sṭ-* in G below)

2 Cerebralisation of the dental *th* It is normally not cerebralised in the West except when the dental is combined with a sibilant

43 Initial palatalisation of *s* > *ch*- is perhaps instanced in Sk. *saṃvatsarā* > *chava-chara*- at ru. This change is due to assimilation But HERTZ and THOMAS consider this form to be a mistake for *savochara*-, which occurs in the other MIRE Earlier this form was derived by scholars from Sk. *ṣaṭ-vatsara*-

- (i) Change *-rīh-* > *-ṭh-*
 Sk *ārīha-* > *aṭha-* S,K,D,J,PE and MRE, but *atha-* G,S,M,K,J
- (ii) Change *-(r-)ih-* > *-ṭh-*
 Sk *nirgrāṇīha-* > *nigraṇṭhika-* T
- (iii) Change *sth* > *ṭh* or *sṭ* (in G) in a few cases, otherwise the cluster is assimilated to *ṭh*
 Sk *sthūtika* > *ṭhūtika-* M,K,D,J,Ksb,MRE, but *-thūtika-* S,T,M₁,Rdh, Mth, sc
 Sk *sthulā-* > *sṭhā-* G
 Sk *anasthika-* (or *an-āsthika-*) > *anaṭhika* PE, but *anathika-* Ksb

3 Cerebralisation of the dental *d*

- (i) Cluster *-rd-* is never assimilated to a cerebral
 Sk *mārdava-* > *mādava-* G,K,T
 Sk *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE
- (ii) Change *-(r-)ḍ-* > *-ḍ-*
 Sk *tri-daśa-* > *ireḍaśa-* M, but *ṭdaśa-* S, *tedasa-* K,D
- (iii) Change *-ḍ(r)-* > *-ḍ-*
 Sk *īḍṛsa-* > *hedṛsa-* K but *hedisa-* S,K,D,sn *edisa-* SM
- (iv) Change *-ḍ(r)-* > *-ḍ-*
 Sk *udāra-* > *udāla* or *udāra-* MRE
- (v) * Change *-ḍ-* > *-ḍ-* in numerals (other than *tri daśa*)
 Sk *dvādaśa-* > *duvādaśa-* K,PE,MRE, *duvaḍaśa-* (also *-daśa-*) M, but *duvādaśa-* D,J
 Sk *pañcadaśa-* > *pamnadasa-* and *-laśa-* PE, *pañcadaśa-* Ksb

4 Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* In combination with *r* it is generally not cerebralised in the West. But it is cerebralised under the influence of *s*

- (i) Change *-(r)dh-* > *dh-*
 Sk *vṛddhi-* > *vadhi-* Major RE, PE ru, but *vadhi-* G
 Sk *vṛddhā-* > *vudha-* So, S,D,J, *vudha-* K, *vudhra-* M
- (ii) Change *-rdh-* > *-ḍh-*
 Sk *dvyardha-* > *diyadha-* M,K, *diadha-* S, *diyadhīya-* MRE
 Sk *vardh-* > *vaḍha-* Major RE, PE, MRE, but *√vadha-* G,M, *vadhita-* K, *vadhṛita-* M (< Sk *vardhita-*)
- (iii) Change *-(s-)dh-* > *-ḍh-*
 Sk *auśadhā-* > *oṣuḍha-*⁴⁴ S, *asuḍha-* G, but *osaḍha-* K,D,J

5 Cerebralisation of the dental *n* This nasal is usually well preserved in all positions and in all versions. It is, however, initially changed to *n-* only in the Kopbal version and perhaps once in the Jaugaḍa separate edict. In the intervocal position its cerebralisation is met with usually in the West and the North-West

Sk *nó* > *no* Kpb, but *no* elsewhere

⁴⁴ Prof TURNER would like to derive these forms from **oṣyḍha*. The presence of the cerebral in the Gimar version and that of dental in the Dhaulti and Jaugaḍa versions precludes such derivation, for as has been noted above the dentals after *r* are generally not cerebralised in G, but they regularly undergo this change in the Eastern dialect.

Sk *m-√dhyā* > *m-√jhapa*⁴⁵ j, but *m-√jhapa*- PE, and *mṛkati*- MRE,
 Sk. *dāśāna* > *dasana*- G, *dasana*- G,K,D,J,So, *draśana*- M
 Sk *pra-√āp-nu* > *prā-√puna*- G,S, *pā-√puna*- K,d,j
 Sk *mānuśa* > *mānusa*- Kpb, other versions give forms with dental -n-
 Sk *idānīm* > *dām* Kpb, but *dām* ru, mk, yr

In Sk. the dental -n- of the terminations becomes -n- after r or ś. This -n- is replaced by the dental -n- in all versions except those in the Mysore group and the one at Kopbal in the South⁴⁶ and rarely in j in the East

Sk. *putrēna* > *putena* or *putrena* Major RE
 Sk *lipikarena* > *lipikarena* Mysore group
 Sk *vārṣāni* > *vasāni* Kpb
 Sk *sārvena* > *savenā* j, but *savena* d, j

In a few cases the dental is cerebralised even when Sk does not require it

Sk *laukikena* > *lokikena* j
 Sk. *Devānām* > *Devānam*- br, jtr, Kpb and ś (once), but *Devānam*- yr, sd and in other versions

Also cf *adhatryām* and *sāturekāni* at Kpb

6 Cerebralisation of clusters with nasals Such cerebralisation is met with in very few cases

(1) Cerebralisation of -ny- > -n- is an exceptional characteristic of the Mānsehrā version

Sk *anyā* > *ana*- M, other versions (including M) give forms with -n- or -ñ-

Sk *√man-ya* > *√mana*- M other versions have -n- or -ñ-

(11) Cerebralisation of the cluster *jñ* is observed in two distant regions viz the North-West and the South

Sk *ā√jñā-pa* > *ā√napa*- S,M,br, other versions have -n- or -ñ-

§ 39 Treatment of final consonants Consonants in their final position are generally dropped in Aś inscriptions as in other Prakrits Thus the abl sg term of mas and neut nouns in -a is -ā < -āt

Also note the following

Sk *yāvat* > *yāva* S, PE, *āvā* Major and Pillar edicts
 Sk *bhavel* > *bhave* G
 Sk *punar* > *punā* S,M,G,K, *pana* S,M,D,J
 Sk *syāt* > *styā* K,d,j,PE, MRE, *stya* S,M,j,PE
 Sk *manāk* > *minā* PE

It will be noticed that the final vowel if short is sometimes lengthened and vice versa (Also cf the treatment of the final vowels)

The word *palisā* < Sk *paṭisad* occurs in K,D,J HULTZSCH quotes this as an

⁴⁵ This is HULTZSCH's reading Others read *m*, also cf TURNER, *Gayimath Inscr* p 1, f note 3

⁴⁶ As an exception the dental -n- is preserved in such cases as Khudakena (-*ḍa*- kpb), *pakamaminena* (-*ṇena* kpb)

⁴⁷ A few consonants at the end are, however, preserved in Samdhu cf Sk *evam* + *api* > *evampai* G Sk. *evam* + *eva* > *evameva* S, M, K, *hemeva* d, j, PE, br, sd, jtr Sk *etad* + *ariha* > *etdatha*- T,

example of the lengthening of the final vowel due to the loss of the final consonant TURNER objects to this explanation and points out that *paṇṣad* first changes to *palisa*, and then *palisā* in conformity with the existing fem. endings⁴⁸

Since the final consonants are dropped, the final *-m* and *-n* are also dropped in these inscriptions and then the preceding vowels are nasalised

Sk *dānam* > *danam* Major Rock and Pillar Edicts

Sk *dharmam* > G,K,D,*dhramam* S,M

But this anusvāra at the end is not always represented in writing. Thus we get such forms as *dama* S,M, *dhamma* j *kalavya* G, etc.

§ 40 Nasalisation

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in some words in these inscriptions in order to mark the doubling of the following consonant when the preceding vowel is shortened

Sk *trīni* > *timni* K,D,J,PE, but *tim* M,K

Sk *√bhū-* > *ahumsu* G

Sk *śuśrūṣā-* > *susumsā-* G

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in order to break hiatus

Sk *anya-anya-* > *añam-anña-* G, *añam-aña-* S, *aṇnam-ana-* K

In certain cases, however, it is introduced without any apparent reason

Sk *prakṛti-* > *paṁkṛti-* sd, but *pakṛti-* br, sd, jtr

Sk *vi√svas* > *vi√samvasa-* sn

Sk **mśiṣṭakā-*⁴⁹ > *mmsiṣṭhayā-* PE

Sk *yāvat* > *avaṇ* K

Sk *ca* > *cam* bh

Sk *pāratrika-* > *pālamṭikya-* K (HULTZSCH's reading)

Sk *mīśradeva-* > *misamdeva-* s (HULTZSCH's reading)

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 41 The clustered consonants are assimilated or dissolved through many a process in MIA in general. Aśokan inscriptions prove no exception to this general treatment adopted by other MIA languages, except that a few clusters and especially those formed with *-r-* are preserved mostly in the North-West and the West. This North-Western characteristic is apparent even today in the group of Dardic languages.⁵⁰ Space forbids here an elaborate treatment of all clusters in the Aśokan inscriptions.⁵¹ Hence only the treatment of important clusters is discussed below, omitting such clusters as exemplify normal assimilation. The process of palatalisation and cerebralisation in clusters is already discussed above §§ 37, 38.

§ 42 Clusters with Stops. Under this head we will specially consider clusters formed with semi-vowels and sibilants + stops.

1 *r* + stops. The following remark by HULTZSCH must be noted before we actually come to deal with the clusters. "As at Gīrnar there is (in S,M) some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. "The order of the

48 BSOS 4.364

49 For this form see LÜDERS SPAW, 1914, 852, for the change *śl* > *ms* cf. PISCHEL, Gr §74

50 Cf. GRIERSON, JRAS 1904 725-31

51 For this cf. BDCRI 3.270 ff.

symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations (BUHLER, *ZDMG* 43 133)." Thus *r* is sometimes combined with the preceding akṣara or is attached to the following consonant. But "it must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation" ⁵²

Therefore in the following examples whether the letter *r* occurs with the preceding syllable or the following consonant, its presence in the word is to be regarded as an illustration of the preservation of the original Sk. conjunct

As noted above the clusters with *r* + stops are as a rule assimilated in all versions except those in the North-West. Below are mentioned a few examples to show the preservation in the North-West

Sk. *vārga-* > *vaga-* K,D,J, *vagra-* S,M

Sk. *svargā-* > *svaga-* G,K,D,I,MRE, *spagra-* S,M

Sk. *garbhāgāra-* > *gabhāgāra-* or *-la-* G,K,D,I, *grabhagara-* S,M

(For the special treatment of *r* + dentals cf. above cerebralisation § 38)

2 *ṣ* + stops. In the cluster *-ṣt-* the unaspirated surd is aspirated in assimilation. The cluster *-ṣth-* is preserved only in the West in the form *-st-*. The cerebral articulation is sometimes lost in the treatment of this cluster

Sk. *aṣṭamī-* > *aṭhamī-* PE, *alṭha-* S,M,K

Sk. *vyusta-* > *vyūṭha-* ru and yr, *vyūṭha-* br *vyuṭha-* s

Sk. *śreṣṭha-* > *sreṭha-* S,M, *seṭha-* K but *śeṣṭha-* G

Sk. *√tiṣṭh-* > *√tiṭha-* S, *√ciṭha-* M,K,D, but *√tiṣṭha-* G

In the case of *ṣ* + *k*, the resulting form appears without aspiration

Sk. *duṣkṛta-* > *dukaṭa-* S,M,K,D *dukata-* G

Sk. *duṣkara-* > *dukara-* S,M,G, *ḍikala-* K,D,I

3 *s* + stops. The cluster *-st-* is preserved in S,M,G but assimilated to *-th-* elsewhere. The cluster *-sth-* is, however, preserved only in the West. (For cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk. *hastin-* > *hastī-* S,M,G *hathī-* K,D,yī

Sk. *ghastha-* > *gahatha-* M,K, *grahatha-* S *gṛhiṭha-* T, but *gharasta-* G

In the treatment of the cluster *-sk-*, aspiration appears only in the West

Sk. *skandhā-* > *-khamda-* G (perhaps due to metathesis of aspiration), but *-kamdha-* S,M,K,D

§ 43 Clusters with *y*. Such clusters are either assimilated, preserved or dissolved. The regional distinction, wherever possible, is noted below

1 Clusters with stop + *y*. In spite of numerous exceptions, it may be said that the cluster is normally assimilated in the West and the North West dissolved in the East and sometimes preserved in the South and the Centre

(1) *-ky-* > *-k-*, *-ky-* or *-kīy-*

Sk. *śakya-* > *śaka-* S, *saka-* G, sd, mk, *sakya-* br sd *cakya-* b, *sakiya-* J, ru, sn, yr, *cakiya-* d, j, Kpb

(11) *-khy-* > *-kh-*, *-khy-* or *-kīy-*

⁵² HULTSCH, p. lxxxvii. Doubts on this opinion have been already expressed by GRIERSON, cf. *JRAS* 1913 682-83, and recently by S. N. SEN *Kane Comm. Vol.* pp. 417-19.

Sk. *mukhya* > *mukha*- S,M,K,T, *mokhya*- d,PE, *mokhya*- j.

(iii) -*gy*- > -*gy*-, -*gy*- or -*k*- (< -*g*-)

Sk. *ārogya* > *ārogya*- br, sd, but *āroka*- yr

Sk. *yugya* > *yūgya*- yr

(iv) For dentals + *y* see above palatalisation § 37

The treatment of the cluster *dvy* > *diy*- (or *dia*- due to loss of -*y*-), may, however, be noted here

Sk. *dvyardha* > *diyadha*- M, K, *diyaḍhya* MRE, *diaḍha*- S

(v) -*bhy*- > -*bh*-, -*bhy*-, -*bhy*-

Sk. *ibhya* > -*ibha* S,K, -*ibhya*- M, -*ibhya*- D,J

Sk. *ā√rābh-ya* > *ārabhare* G, *ārabhisu* M, *ālabhya*- K,D,J and *arabhya*- S,M

2 Cluster *ry* The cluster is assimilated to -*y*- or dissolved by svarabhakti. It may be noted that this cluster as well as the following *ly* are more or less regularly preserved in the Nīya Prakrit cf BURROW, § 42

Sk. *marya*- or -*ārya* > *maya*- S,M G,K,D, *aya*- everywhere, but *aiya*- bh

Sk. *mādhurya* > *madhurya*- S,M, *madhulya*- K,D,J

Sk. *ācārya* > *ācārya*- br, sd,jtr, yr

Sk. *sūrya* > -*sūryika* sc, -*sūryika*- 1

3 Cluster *ly* It is assimilated to -*l*- in the West and the North-West and to -*y*- in the East, Centre and the North

Sk. *kalyāna* > *kalāna*- S,M,G, *kayana*- M, *kayāna*- K,D,PE

4 Cluster *vy* It is assimilated to *v* in the North-West, preserved in the West⁵³ (and sometimes in the South and the Centre) and dissolved by svarabhakti in other regions

Sk. *vyañjana* > *vañjana*- S, *viyajana*- M, *viyamjana* K,D,J,Sn
vayajana- ru, *vyamjana*- G

Sk. *vyuṣṭa* > *vivutha*- s, but *vyūtha*- br, *vyūtha*- ru, yr

Sk. *kaṭavya* > *kaṭava*- S, *kaṭaviya*- M,K,D,J,PE,sd, jtr, yr
katavya- G

5 Sibilant + *y* It is generally assimilated or dissolved, or rarely preserved

Sk. *pratneśya* > -*veśiya*- S,M, -*veśiya*- K,G

Sk. *dūśya* > *dusa*- sn, sc, kb

Sk. *āśya* > *alasiya*- d, but *āśya*- j

Sk. *īśya* > *isā*- d, j, but *īśyā*- PE

Sometimes the change -*sy*- > -*s*- is observed in the North-West⁵⁴ cf for instance the future term

Sk. *ārabhiṣyanti* > *arabhiṣanti* S,M

Sk. *manuśya* > *manuśa* S,M, *manuśa*- K, *manusa*- elsewhere

§ 44 Clusters with *r* Such clusters are normally assimilated to the stop with which the semivowel *r* is combined. But sometimes the cluster is preserved in the North-West and the West (and rarely in the Mysore group) both initially and medially

53 Cf however Sk. *pūjayitavya* > *pūjetaya*- G.

54 For similar change in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW §41

1 Gutturals + *r*

Sk *ati*√*kram*- > *ati*√*kama*- K,D,J,T, but *ati*√*krama*- S,M,G. G has *atikāla*- and *paṣkama*- also

Sk *cakravāka*- > *cakavāka*- PE

Sk *prakrānta*- > *pakamta*- MRE

Sk *agra*- > *aga*- K,D,J,G,PE, *agra* S,M

2 Dentals + *r* The cluster is sometimes preserved even in the South

Sk *trī*, *trīm* > *tim* or *timn* M,K,D,J,PE, *lī* G, but *trayo* S and *trī* G,

Sk *putrā*- > *puta*- G,K,J,T,sc, *putra*- S,M,G

Sk *tātra* > *tata* G,K,d,j,T,s, *tatrā* G,S,M

Sk √*dṛh*- > *drahitavya*- > *drahyitavya*- br, sd, jir

Sk *ardhatrika*- > *aḍhātiya*- MRE

3 Labials + *r* Here the cluster is sometimes preserved even in the Central and Southern division

Sk *prajā*- > *paḍā* K,D,J,PE, *prajā*, S,M,G

Sk *prakāsa*- > *prakāsa*- ru

Sk *prasāda* > *prasāda*- S,M,G,bh, *paśāda*- K

Sk *prakrānta*- > *prakamta*-⁵⁵ br, *pakamta*- ru sd, Kpb, yī (*pakata*)

Sk *prāna*- > *prāna*- G,S, yr, *prana* M, *pāna*- elsewhere

But cf *pr*- > *p*- in G and M

Sk *prakarana*- > *pakarana*- G,M, *pakalana*- K,D also *prakarana*- S,G

The clusters *br*- and *bhr*- almost follow the usual tendencies

Sk *brāhmaṇa*- > *brāhmana*- S,M, *bambhāna*- So,K

bābhana- D,J,T, *bamana* M, *bāmhana*- G

Sk *bhrātr* > *bhrātra*- G, *bhrata*- S,M, *bhata*- K,D,J,M

4 Cluster *vr* It is preserved only in the North-West

Sk *vraja*- > *vraça*- S,M, *vaca*- G,K,D,J

Sk *pravrajita*- > *pravrajita*- S,M, *pavajita* G,K,T

5 Clusters with sibilant + *r* They are regularly preserved in S,M, and sometimes in G, other versions assimilate it to the sibilant

Sk √*śru*-nu- > √*śruṇa*- S,M, √*srūṇa*- G √*śuna*- K, √*su*- K,T,bh,d,j
√*sāvāpa*- T,br,sd

Sk *sahāstra*- > *sahasra* S,M,G, *sahasa*- S,⁵⁶D,J,PE

Sk *parisrava*- > *parisrava*- S,G, *-parisava*- M, *paḥsava*- D,J, (-lā- K)

Sk *mistrā*- > *miṣa*- MRE

§ 45 Clusters with *v*

1 Clusters with stops + *v* in the initial position are dissolved and in the medial position assimilated in the non-Western regions. They are preserved in all positions only in the West with these phonetic changes, that *tv* > *tp* and *dv* > *db*

Sk *knāpi* > *kuvāpi* K

Sk *dvī*- > *duvi* S, *duve* M,K,J, *duvehi* T, *dve* or *dvo* G

Sk *dvādaśā* > *duvadaśa*- M, *duvādasa*- D,J, *-dasa*- K,PE,bb, *badaya*- S, *dbādasa*- G

55 HULTZSCH's reading

56 Thus *sahasa*- in S and *parisava*- in M are exceptions.

Sk *catvārah* > *catvare* S, *catāh* K (> Sk *catvāri*), *catpāro* G
 Sk. absolutive term. *-tvā* > *-tu* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *-tpā* G
 Sk *śāḍ-vimśati* > *śaḍviśati* PE.

2 Semivowel *r* + *v* The cluster is generally preserved in the West and the North-West, but dissolved or assimilated elsewhere.

Sk *sārva* > *sava* in all versions, *sarva*- G, *savra*- S,M
 Sk *pārva* > *-puva*- G, *-puluva*- K,D,J, *-pruva*- S,M,G

3 Sibilant + *v* The cluster in the initial position is preserved in the West and the North-West⁵⁷ (in the form *sp*), and it is either assimilated or dissolved by svarabhakti elsewhere.

Sk *svāmi-ka* > *svāmika*- G, *spāmika*- S,M, *suvmāmika*- K,D,J
 Sk *śvetā* > *sveta*- G, *seta*- PE

In *svaga*- (< Sk *svargā*-), however, it is initially preserved in all versions⁵⁸ (*spagra*- S,M)

In the intervocal position it is preserved everywhere

Sk *śāśvatā* > *sasvata*- d,j
 Sk *āsva* > *asva*- PE

§ 46 Clusters with sibilants

1 For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see above palatalisation §37

2 *r* + sibilant Whereas S,M,G, preserve the cluster, others assimilate it to the sibilant

Sk *dārśana* > *dasana*- G,So,K,D,J, *draśana*- S,M, *darsana*- G
 Sk *-darśin* > *-dasi*- G,K,D,J,PE, bh, bb, *-draśi*, S,M, *-drasi*- G

3 Clusters with *h*

Almost everywhere the cluster *-rh-* is dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*

Sk *garhā*, *garhanā* > *garahā* G,M, *galahā*- K, √*garaha*- S,M,G, but *garana*- S

Sk *yathārha* > *yathāraha*- br,sd,jtr

§ 47 Clusters with nasals Such clusters are usually assimilated to the nasal or to the stop and then the nasal is turned into anusvāra This anusvāra, however, is not always represented in writing The clusters with *ñ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *m* show some peculiarities and only these are detailed below

§ 48 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 *ññ* The cluster is usually assimilated to *ñ* in the West, North-West,⁵⁹ and South, and to *n* in the East and the Centre (For cerebralisation see above §38)

Sk *ññāti* > *ñāti*- G,br,sd,jtr, *nāti*- K,D,J,PE
 Sk *viññāpti* > *vinati*- kq, √*vinna*- sn

In the declined forms of *rājan*- the cluster is sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti

Sk *rājñā* > *rāñā* S,G, *rājina* M,So, *lājñā*, K,D,J,rm,rb

2 *ñc* It is represented as *-ñc-* or *-mn-* in the numeral

Sk, *pañca* > *pañca*- S,M,G,K,D,J,ksb, *pañna*- PE

57 The cluster *śv* > *śp* and *śv* > *śv* or *śp* in the Niya Prakrit, cf. Burrow, 14

58 In s 1.4, however, HULTSCH reads *svaga*-

59 *ññ* > *ñ* (or *n*) in the Niya Prakrit, cf. Burrow § 44

3 *ñ*; It is generally represented as *-m-* or *-ṇ-*, but in the North-West it is assimilated to *ñ*⁶⁰

Sk. *vyañjana-* > *vyamjana-* G, *viyamjana-* K,D,J,sn *vayaṇa-* ru, *viyaṇa-* M, *vañana-* S

§ 49 Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 *m* In its assimilation the cerebral articulation is preserved in the Mysore group but it is lost in PE

Sk *suvárna-* > *suvamna-* br,sd

Sk *pūrná-* > *pumna-* PE

2 *-kṣn-* > *-khin-* Sk *ślakṣná-* > *sakhina-* d, Sk *abhikṣna-* > *abhikhina-* bh.

3 *ny* In the North-West and the West the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* (but in G also to *n*), but elsewhere to *n*

Sk. *apunya-* > *apuña-* S,M *apumña-* G, *apuna-* K

Sk *hiranya-* > *hiranna-* G,So, *hīlamna-* K,D,J

§ 50 Clusters with *n* The only important cluster to note is *ny* Other clusters with *n* are assimilated to the stop (as in Sk *agn-* > *agi* M,K,D,G) or dissolved (as in Sk *pra√āp-mu-* > *pāpuna-* or *-na-* G,S,K,D,J, or *prasná-* > *-pasina-* bh)

1 *ny* It is assimilated to *ñ* in the West and North-West,⁶¹ but to *n* elsewhere (for cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk *anyá-* > *añā-* S,M,G,So, *amna-* K,D,J,PE, *ana-tra* M, *ana-* M

Sk *√manya-* > *√maña-* S,M,G, *√mana-* K,d,J, (*√mana-* M)

§ 51 Clusters with *m*

1 *-tm-* Except in the West and the South where it is preserved as *-tp-*, it is normally assimilated to *t*

Sk *ātmán-* > *ata-* S,M,K,d,J,PE, *ātpā* G, *mahātpā* br,sd,yr Kōpāl though in South gives *mahata-*

2 *-sm-*⁶² (or *-ṣm-*) Note the following interesting treatments It is either preserved (as *sm* or *sp*) or assimilated to *mh* or *s* In the pronominal forms it usually becomes *-ph-*

Sk *akasmāt* > *akasmā* d,j

Sk loc sg *-smīn* > *-mhi* G, *-ṣpi* S,M, *-si* elsewhere

Sk *tasmāt* > *taphā* K

Vedic *asme* > *aphe* d,j, similarly * *tuṣmat-* > *tupha-* d,j,ru,sn,yr

In the grammatical form *asmī* initial *a-* is lost and then the cluster is dissolved cf *sumi* ru, s, mk, Kpb

3 *-hm-* The following forms may be noted

Sk *brāhmaṇá-* > *bramana-* S,M, *brahmaṇa-* G, *bāmhana-* G,

bambhana- So,K,yr, *bābhana-* K,D,J,T

4 *-my-* It is sometimes preserved

Sk. *samyak* > *samma-* S, but *saṁmyā-* D,J, *samyā-* K, *samya-* G,M

60 Precisely the same tendency is observed in the Niya Prakrit documents and the process is most regular in the *Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada*, cf BURROW, §45.

61. The same treatment is also found in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §41.

62 The cluster *-sm-* > *-s* in the loc. term. or is preserved in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §49

5 -mr- . As is well known, it becomes -mb-

Sk. *āmra* > *ambā* PE

Sk. *Tāmrāparṇī* > *Tambaparni* S,M,G,K,J, -*parṇi* M

MORPHOLOGY

I DECLENSION

(A) NOUNS

§ 52 The complex declensional system of the OIA is much simplified in these inscriptions by the well-known processes which were active in the MIA period. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the consonantal bases are mostly transferred to the vowel bases. On the other hand in endings we do not yet meet with the same variety of forms which are so widely used in the later literary Prakrits. The geographical distinction in the declensional system of these inscriptions, especially between the East and the West, is noted below in all such cases which admit of such distinction. Exceptions to these generalisations, whenever they occur, are also recorded in each case.

§ 53 Mas and Neut Nouns ending in -a

(i) Nom sg Mas principally ends in -a and -e. Of these, the former is more frequently used than the latter in G,S,M and the latter in K,D,J,PE and MRE

jano G,S, *jane* K,M,D,J,T, *aṭhe* MRE

(a) The ending -o is, however, sometimes found in the East and -e in the West and North-West cf *rājuke*, *sakale*, etc in G, *jane*, *vivade*, etc in S,M, and *Keralaputo* in K, *seto* in D

(b) The ending -a (the original -s in -as being dropped) is of rare occurrence cf *jana* S, *vadha* K, [*sampa*]*ṭipāda* d, and *yāvataka* ru

(c) The foreign name *Amtekina*- in G ends in -a, but it ends in i at S. The other name *Maga*- ends in -ā in G and K

(ii) Acc sg Mas ends in -am or -a (with the loss of final anusvāra) everywhere

janam G,PE, *dhramam* or *jana* S, *dhaminam* K,D,J, *saṅgham* MRE

(a) In S, M we sometimes get the ending -o or -e cf *dhramo*, and *sayame*

(b) In K exceptionally the ending -ā is found cf *ata-pāsāḍā*

(iii) Nom Acc sg Neut. These nouns end in -am in G,S,M. In other edicts we get -am only for the acc sg whereas -e is found for nom sg

Nom sg *dānam* G,S,M, but *dāne* K,D,J,PE, *phale* MRE

Acc sg *mamgalam* D,J, *dānam* K,PE, *vipulam* MRE

(a) In G,S,M, we get in a few cases the ending -e for nom sg, as in the East and in K,D,J,tr, and yr, we get -am as in the West cf *dāne* G,S,M, *jivam* K,D,J, *likhitam* jtr, *saca* and *kaṭaviya* (with the loss of final anusvāra) yr

(b) In a few gerundives we have -o in S cf *kaṭavo*

(c) Sometimes we get -ā for nom sg in K,D,J, cf *ādisā* K, *kaṭaviya-talā* D,J.

- (d) In d and K sometimes the acc. sg also ends in *-e*, cf. *ānāne* d, *dāne* K.
- (iv) Inst. sg ends in *-ena* everywhere
janena G, *putrena* S,M, *putena* D,J, *dhammena* PE, etc., *khudakena* K,D,J, MRE.
 (a) The final *-na* is sometimes lengthened, cf. *bhayanā* PE, *-abhisitenā* MRE
 (b) Cerebralised term. occurs sometimes in the South cf. *lipigarena* br,jtr, *mahatena* Kpb
- (v) Dat. sg ends in *-ya* in West, Centre, and South but *-ye* elsewhere
athāya G, *kālāya* ru, *aṭhāya* ru,br,Kpb,yr, *aṭhāye* S,M,D,J,K,t,s
 (a) Once in G and T the dat sg ends in *-ā* cf. *athā*⁶³
- (vi) Abl sg ends in *-ā* (*-a* in S,M) everywhere
kapā G, *anubadhā* K, *mahatātā* MRE, *karana* S,M
 (a) The final vowel is sometimes shortened in D, cf. *anubadha*
- (vii) Gen sg ends in *-sa* everywhere
janasa G,S,M,K,D,J,PE, *Asokasa* mk, *pakamasa* MRE
 (a) Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened
janasā K, *asvasā* T,Mi (but *asvasa* Rdh, Mth, Rp)
- (viii) Loc sg G gives the ending *-mhi* (< Sk *-smi* of pronouns) and *-e* In S,M, we get *-e*, and *spi* or *-si* (< Sk *-smi*) The ending *-si* is the normal one in other edicts
athamhi G, *orodhanaspi* S,M, *uthanasī* S,M, *aṭhasī* D,J, *janasī* PE, *Jambudīpasī* MRE, *kōle* G, *dhrame* S,M
 (a) Perhaps *-e* is found in *supiye* at bb
- (ix) Nom pl Masc ends in *-ā* everywhere (but represented as *-a*, in S,M)
morā G, *putā* K,D J, *pulisā* PE, *devā* MRE, *putra* S,M
 (a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened cf. *nāṭikya* K, *lajūka* PE, *Anuvigina* d,j
 (b) T twice gives the ending *-āse* (< Vedic *-āsah*) cf. *vīyāpāṭase*
- (x) Acc pl Masc The ending in G is *-e* but *-ām* in other edicts This *-ām* ending is regarded as the peculiarity of the Ardha Māgadhī dialect by LUDERS (SPAW 1913 992 ff)
yute G, *kamdhāni* D,J, *pulisām* PE, *bambhanām* yr
 (a) *-ām* is noticed in G four times cf. for instance *gharastām*
- (xi) Nom Acc pl neut ends in *-ām* everywhere
rāpāni G,S,M, *phalāni* K, *vasāni* D,J Mysore Gr
 (a) Sometimes we get the ending *-ā*, cf. *-darsanā* G, *lopāpitā* D,K, *hālāpitā* K, *lāti-satā* s,ru
 (b) The final vowel is once lengthened in Mi cf. *hamtavīyānā*
 (c) Characteristically *-n-* > at Kpb cf. *vasām*, *aḍhatīyāni*
- (xii) Inst pl ends in *-ehi* (< Vedic *-ebhih*)
satehi G,K, *jātehi* d,j, *devehi* MRE
- (xiii) Dat. pl ends in *-ehi*
mahamatrehi M, *samanehi* D,J, *Ājivikehi* bb

- (xiv) Gen pl : ends in *-nam* or *-na*
thairānam G, *prananam* S,M, *pānānam* K,D,J
śramanana S,M, *-paśādāna* K
(a) Rarely we get *-nām* or *-nā*
bhūtānām G and *bambhanānā* K.
- (xv) Loc pl ends in *-su* everywhere (*-su* in S,M)
thāiresu G, *vaṣeṣu* S,M, *vasesu* K,D,J, *aṭhesu* PE, *pavatesu* MRE, *prānesu* yr
(a) Rarely the final vowel is lengthened in G cf *paṁthesū*
- § 54 Fem nouns ending in *-ā*
- (i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* (represented as *-a* in S,M,) everywhere
icā G,S,M,K,PE, *paṣā* D,J, *porānā* Mysore Group, yr
(a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened in the East and Centre *icā* D,J, *-lokika* K, *-apekha* PE
- (ii) Acc sg ends in *-ām* with the final anusvāra sometimes dropped
pūṣām G,M, *paṣam* PE, *puṣā* S,K,G, *paṭipadā* M(?)
- (iii) Inst sg ends in the East, Centre and the West in *-yā* and in the North and the North-West in *-ye*
pūṣyā G,PE, *isāya* D,J, *puṣāye* S,M,K
- (iv) Dat, Abl, Gen sg ends in *-ye*
viṣāye (Dat), *dakṣināye* (Abl), *duṭṭyāye* (Gen) PE
- (v) Loc sg ending in the East, Centre, South, and the West is *-yam* but *-ye* in the North, North-West and the East
ganānāyam G, *Samāpāyam* J, *Tisāyam* T,M, *velāyam* Kpb, *saṁtiranāye* S,M, *saṁtilanāye* K, *Tisāye* PE, *pāṣāye* D,J
(a) The final anusvāra in *-yam* is sometimes dropped
saṁtiranāya G, *saṁtilanāya* D,J
- (vi) Nom pl ends in *-ā* everywhere (*-a* S,M)
kaṭā G, *vaṭikyā* PE, *upāsikā* bh, *cikisa* S,M
(a) Final *-ā* is once shortened in G cf *cikicha*
(b) G alone gives the additional ending *-āyo* (>*-āo* in Pkt cf PISCHEL G §376) cf *mahidāyo*
- (vii) Loc pl ends in *-su* in PE cf *disāsu*
- § 55 Mas and Neut Nouns ending in *-i*
- (i) Nom sg Mas ends in *-ī* in PE cf *vidhī*, *Sakyamunī*
- (ii) Nom sg Neut. ends in *-i* in K cf *asamati*
- (iii) Nom pl Mas ends in *-ī* in G and *-o* in S,M
trī G, *trayo* S,M (For long *ī* cf PISCHEL, Gr §380)
- (iv) Nom Acc pl Neut ends in *-ni* everywhere
tūmni K,D,J,PE, *osadhīm* K
- (v) Gen pl ends in *-nam* everywhere, but the final anusvāra is sometimes dropped
nātinam G,S,M, *nātinam* K, *nātinā* S,M
(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of preceding vowel in K cf *nātinā*

(vi) Loc. pl. ends in *-su* in the East and the West and *-su* in the North and the North-West.

nātisu G, *nātisu* D,J, *nābhāpantiṣu* M,K

§ 56 Fem. nouns ending in *-ī*

(i) Nom sg Normally ending *-ī* appears in the West (and the South) and *-i* elsewhere

hpi G, *pakiti* Mysore Gr (but *pakiti* yr), *hpi* K, *dipi* S,M, *vadhi* PE

(a) Exchange of these endings is met with exceptionally, *apaciti* G, *anusakti* D,J, *gabhinī* PE

(ii) Acc sg ending *-im* appears in G and PE and *-i* in K,D,J,S,M,PE and MRE

sambodhim G, *hpi* sn, *sabodhi* S,M, *sambodhi* K,D,J, *vaḍhi* T,ru

(a) As a result of the loss of final anusvāra the preceding vowel is lengthened in D,J, and PE

kīti D,J, *-anupaḥipati* T (HLZ's reading)

(b) Loss of anusvāra with short *-i* is an exception at G cf *kīti*, *chāti*, *vaḍhi*

(iii) Inst sg ending *-yā* is obtained in all versions and the final vowel is sometimes shortened in D,J and PE

bhātīyā G,S,M,K, *anusathīyā* D,I,PE, *anāvutīya* D,J, *vaḍhiyā* PE

(a) Ending *-ye* is sometimes found in K cf *anusathīye*

(b) Ending *-nā* is obtained only at yr cf *bherinā*

(iv) Dat Sg The Western, North-Western and Northern ending is *-yā* Ending *-ye* seems to be the Eastern one (its presence in S,M being perhaps due to the Eastern influence)

anusastīya G, *vaḍhiyā* S,M,K, *vaḍhiye* D,J, *dhātīye* T, *anusastīye* S,M.

(v) Abl sg ends in *-yā* (represented as *-ye* in S,M)

mvutīyā K, *mpathīyā* D,J, *mvutīya* S,M

(vi) Gen sg ends in *-ye* in PE cf *devīye* Kq

(vii) Loc sg ending *-yam* occurs in D,J,PE, *-ya* in S,M, and *-ye* in K,D,J,PE
puṭhaviyam D,J, *Kosambiyam* PE, *ayatiya* S,M, *āyatiye* K,D,J,
cātummāsiye PE

(viii) Nom pl ending *-yo* occurs in G,K, and *-ye* in bh, the forms in S,M,D,J end in *-ī*

aṭaviyo G, *janīyo* K, *bhikhuniye* bh, *aṭavi*⁶⁴ S,M, *itī* D,J

(ix) Gen pl ending *-nam* or *-nā*

bhagīnānam D,J, *devīnam* T, *bhagīnā* K

(x) Loc pl ends in *-su*

ṭisu PE, *pavatisu*⁶⁵ ru

§ 57 Mas and Neut nouns ending in *-u*

(i) Nom sg Mas. ends in *-u* in all versions

sādhū Major RE, *bhikhū* Kb

(a) It is, however, sometimes lengthened

sādhū D,J, *bhikkhū* sn

64 With this form HULTZSCH compares Pāli nom pl *rattī* of *ratti* (< Sk *rātri*)
p xci

65 For the fem base *pavati* cf. BÖHTLINGK, *Wörterbuch*, sv

- (ii) Nom. Acc. Neut. sg. : ends in -u everywhere
bahu K,S,M,K,PE, *sādhu* D,J
- (iii) Loc. sg. : The form *bahune* in T is perhaps from the base *bahuna-*
- (iv) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut. ends in -ni in all versions
bahūni Major RE, PE
- (v) Inst. pl. ends in -hi, cf *bahūhi* Major RE
- (vi) Gen. pl. ending -nam occurs in G,D,J,PE, -na in S,M, and -nā in K.
garūnaṣ G, *gulūnam* D,J, *bhikkhūnam* sc, *gcrunā* S,M, *gulunā* K
- (vii) Loc. pl. ends in -su
bahūsc d,j, *gclusc* PE, *garcsu* Mysore group, *garūsu* yr

§ 58. Fem. nouns ending in -u

(i) The nom. sg. of *sādhu* used as fem. is the same as that of Mas. and Neut. in all versions.

§ 59. Mas. nouns ending in -r. The base for the oblique cases ends either in -i or -u. In such cases the Western version preserves the Sk. forms

- (i) Nom. sg. ends in -ā in d and PE

pitā d, *apahatā* T

(a) It is sometimes shortened to -a, cf *pūa* j and *apahata* Rdh

(ii) Inst. sg. ends in -ā in the West, but -nā (cf -i and -u declension) in other regions

pitā, *bhātā* or *bhātrā* G, *pīluna* S,M, *pīnā* K,D,J

- (iii) Loc. sg. ends in -i at G cf *pīlari*

(iv) Nom. pl. ends in -o in S, -e in M,K, and -ī in D,J (cf -i declension)
nataro S, *natare* M, *matāle* K, *natī* D,J

(v) Gen. pl. ends in -nam in K,D,J and -na in S,M
bhāṭīnam K,D,J, *bhātuna* S,M

(vi) Loc. pl. ends in -su in all groups, but -ṣu in S,M (and K)
pīṭisu D,J,K,PE,br, *pīṭisu* yr, jtr, *pīṭuṣu* S,M, *pīṭisu* K

§ 60. Fem. nouns ending in -r

- (i) Gen. (dat.) sg. ends in -u at Kq cf *-mātu*

(ii) Loc. sg. ends in -i at G cf *mātari*

(iii) Gen. pl. ends in -na in S,M cf *spasuna*

§ 61. Bases ending in consonants. As in other Prakrits, such bases in these inscriptions are brought over to the -a declension. Yet in some forms the Sk. consonantal declension survives with the necessary phonetic changes

§ 62. Present Participles ending in -at

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. ends in -um or -u and -o in G, in the East the ending is -am⁶⁶ or -e of which the former is seen in other non-Western regions

karuṣ, *karu* and *karoto* G, *saṁtam* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *kalamtam* mk,
mahamte D,J (following the -a declension)

(ii) Gen. sg. ends in -sa in M cf *aśatasa*

(iii) Nom. pl. Masc. ends in -o in G, and -a (for -ā or -e) in s.
tiṣṭanto G, *saṁta* s.

§ 63. Other bases ending in -at

66. Ending -am < Sk. -am. See HULTSCH, p. lxxvii.

- (1) Nom sg ends in *-a* at K,S,M and Mth, in *-an* in other PE, and in *-e* at sn

paṇḍava K, *praṇava* S,M, *kiya* Mth, *kiyam* other PE, *bhagavam* m; *āvate* sn

- (11) Inst sg ends in *-ā* cf *bhagavatā* bh, *ketuvatā* K

§ 64 Mas. nouns ending in *-an*

- (1) Nom sg ends in *-ā* as in Sk

rājā G,S,M, *lājā* K,D,J,PE, MRE

- (a) It is optionally shortened in all versions and exceptionally at G
Yona-rāja G, *lāja* K,D,J,PE, MRE

- (11) Acc sg ends in *-am* cf *atānam* d,j

- (111) Inst sg ends in *-ā* in all versions

rājā G,S; *rajma* M, *lājnā* K,D,J,MRE, *atanā* PE(T,Ksb)
mahātpanā sd, yr

- (a) Final *-ā* is shortened in Rdh, Mth, Rp cf *atana* It is shortened in Mysore group Also cf *mahātṭena* (But this seems to be due to transference to the *-a* declension, the base then being *mahātṭa* < Sk *mahātman*)

- (iv) Gen sg Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

rājā G,S, *lājne* K,D,J, *rajne* M

- (v) Nom. pl Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

rājāno G,S, *lājāne* K,D,J,PE

- (a) *-o* is found occasionally at K, cf *lājāno*

- (b) The final vowel is changed to *-i* in S, cf *rajani*

- (c) It follows *-a* declension only in Mysore group and ends in *-ā* cf *mahātṭā* br, sd (cf the above note on *mahātṭena*)

- (vi) Inst pl ends in *-hi* cf *lājhi* PE

§ 65 Neut nouns ending in *-an*

- (1) Nom sg ending in the North and N-West is *-am* but *-e* in the East.

kramam S,M, *kammam* K, *kamme* D,J,K

- (11) Acc sg Eastern ending is *-am* which is presented with the loss of anus-vāra in some of the versions

kammam D,J, *nāma* Major RE and PE

- (a) The final *-a* is sometimes lengthened in K cf *nāmā*

- (111) Inst sg ends in *-na* cf *kamana* d,j

- (iv) Dat sg North and N-West give *-ye*, and East gives *-ne* (cerebralised to *-ne* in M according to HULTZSCH's reading)

kramāye S, *kammāye* K, *kammane* D,J, *kramane* M

- (v) Gen sg ends in *-sa* cf *kammasa* d,j

- (vi) Acc pl ends in *-āni* cf *kammāni* PE

§ 66 Mas nouns ending in *-as*

- (1) Nom. pl ends in *-ā* (cf *-a* declen) *avīmanā* PE

§ 67 Neut nouns ending in *-as*

- (1) Acc sg ending *-o* occurs in the West and East alike, but *-e* occurs only in the non-Western area

yaśo G,K,D,J, *yaśo* S,M, *bhuye* S,M,K,PE, *daviye* d.

(a) Ending *-a* is noted in G, cf *bhuya*

§ 68. Mas nouns ending in *-m*

(i) Nom sg ends in *!* (short in the West and long in the East).

Piyadasi G,K,J,T,MiRdh,Mth,Rp, bh, *Priyadrasī* S,M, *Piyadasī* K,D,J,
Ksb, bh

(ii) Inst. sg ends in *-ā* in all versions except those in the N-East where the term is *-a*

Priyadasinā G, *-draśina* S,M, *Piyadasinā* K,D,J,bh, *amtevāsina* Mysore
Gr, but *Piyadasina* rm, ng

(iii) Dat sg (?) *-e* cf *Piyadaśine* K, *-dasine* D,J, *-daśine* M.

(a) Once *-a* appears at the end cf *-draśina* M

(iv) Gen sg *-no* is found in the West and *-ne* in other regions. The ending *-sā* (cf *-a* declen.) is found only in the North and North-West

Priyadasino G, *Piyadasine* K,D,J, *Priyadraśine* M. But *Priyadrasisa* S,
Piyadasisā K

(a) Ending *-na* is obtained at yr cf *yathācārīna*

(v) Acc pl ending *-m* (cf neut decl) is found in the East, South, and the North. In the N West we get *-na* or *-ne*

hathim K,D,J, *atevāsina* yr, *astina* S, *astine* M

(vi) Loc pl ending *-su*, cf *amtevāsīsu* yr

§ 69. Neut nouns ending in *-m*

(i) Nom pl ends in *-m*, cf *-gāmīni* PE

§ 70. Fem noun *dis*

(i) Acc sg ends in *-ā* cf *diṣā* (for *diṣām*) K.

§ 71. Fem base ending in *-ad* (*pariśad-*)

(i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* *palisā* K,D,J, *parisā* G, *pariśa* M, *pari[ṣ*]* S

(ii) Loc sg *-yam* in the East and West and *-ye* in the North and N-West.
palisāyam J, *parisāyam* G, *pariśaye* S,M, *palisāye* K

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel cf *parisāyā* D

(B) PRONOUNS

§ 72. The declined forms of Pronouns mostly correspond to the Sk forms with the necessary phonetic changes. The base *apha-* for the 1st pers pron and *tupha-* for the 2nd pers pron are peculiar to these inscriptions. The grammatical distinction in the different genders is sometimes obscured so that the same forms are used for two or three genders. As will be seen the initial *y-* of the relative pronoun is dropped in the Eastern dialect, but it is never turned to *j-* as in later Prakrits.

§ 73. First Personal Pronoun. Important forms are *hakam* in nom sg, *maye* in nom pl, base *mama-* in instr and abl sg, and *apha-* in pl forms. The initial *h-* in some of the forms is equally noteworthy.

(i) Nom sg G,S,M give the Sk form *aḥam* (M gives also *aam*). Other versions in all regions give *hakam* (< **ahakam*)⁶⁷

(ii) Acc sg *mam* occurs in PE

(iii) Ins. sg

- 1 *maā* G,S,M,br, and yr
- 2 *mahayā*⁶⁸ K,D,J,T,b
- 3 *me* K,D,Rdh, Mth, kpb, yr
- (a) 4 *mamyā* occurs once in T
- (b) 5 *mamāye* occurs in d
- (c) 6 *mamyāye* occurs in j, and
- 7 *hamyāye* occurs in bh

(iv) Abl sg *mamate* d, j

(v) Gen sg

- 1 *mama* G,K,D,J,PE
- 2 *maa*⁶⁹ S,M
- 3 *me* Major RE, PE, MRE (*ma* to be read as *me* in br)
- (a) anusvāra is added at the end and once we get *mamam* j
- (b) Final -a is lengthened cf *mamā* K,D,T,M₁
- (c) *hamā*⁷⁰ is given by bh

(vi) Nom. pl *maye* d, j, (< Sk *vayam* under the influence of *mayā* cf HULTZSCH p cvi)

- (vii) Acc pl *aphe* d, *aphem* j (cf the Sk base *asma-* in *asmān*)
- (viii) Gen. pl 1 *ne* K,d,j 2 *aphākā* d
- (ix) Loc pl *aphesū* d,j

§ 74 Second Personal Pronoun The base is *tupha*⁷¹ (< **tuṣma-*).

- (i) Nom pl *tuphe* d, j, sn, pr, *pre* j
- (ii) Acc. pl *tuphem* j
- (iii) Inst pl *phehi* d, j
- (iv) Dat. pl *ve* (< Sk *vaḥ*) mk (used for nom pl)
- (v) Gen pl *tuphāka* d, j, *tuphākam* sn, *tupaka* ru
- (vi) Loc pl *tuphesu* d, j

§ 75 Third Person Pron Mas Base *ta-* (or *-sa* in nom)

- (i) Nom sg *so* G,S, *se* K,M,D,J,PE and MRE
 - (a) G once gives the form *sā*
 - (b) Similarly S gives the form *sa*
 - (c) The forms *še* and *śe* at K are only graphical
 - (d) d and j give *te*
- (ii) Acc sg *so* G, but *tam* K, S, M
- (iii) Inst sg ends in *-na* cf *tena* Major RE and PE
 - (a) Final -a is optionally lengthened at K, cf *tenā*
- (iv) Dat sg. ends in *-ya* in the West and *-ye* elsewhere
tāya G, *tāye* S,M,K

68 The form *mamae* is given by Hemacandra, III 10969 *maa* = Pkt. *maha*, Sk *mama* under the influence of dat sg *mahyam*, see MICHELSON JAOS 30 85. x. 2.70. This seems to be a compromise between *mamā* and **ham* < *aham*. See HULTZSCH, p cxxvii71. This again is a compromise between the Sk. base *yusma-* and nom sg *tvam* See HULTZSCH, p cvi.

- (v) Abl sg *taphā*⁷² and *tā* K
- (vi) Gen. sg ends in *-sa* cf *tasā* Major RE
 - (a) With *-ā* at the end in K cf *tasā*
 - (b) Forms *taśa* and *taā* at K are graphical
- (vii) Loc sg Western ending is *-mhi* and elsewhere *-si*
tamhi G, *tasī* S,M,D,J
 - (a) Form *taśi* at K is graphical
- (viii) Nom pl **te* Major and Minor RE, PE
se D and Mysore Gr
- (ix) Inst pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* K
- (x) Dat pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* G,K,M
- (xi) Gen pl *-sam* G,J,Rdh,Mth, Rp cf *tesam*
-śam S, K cf *teśam*
-śam S, K, cf *tānam* (cf nominal declension)
(a) Final anusvāra omitted cf *tesa* G,d, *teśa* S,M
- (xii) Loc pl *-su* *tesu* PE

§ 76 Third Pers Pron—Feminine Base *tā-* (or *sā-* in nom)

- (i) Nom sg *-ā sā* G,K, *sa* S,M
(a) K graphically gives *śā*
- (ii) Acc sg *-am* *tam* PE
- (iii) Dat sg *-ye* *tāye* PE
- (iv) Acc pl *-a* (ie *-ā*) *ta* (for *tā*) S,M

§ 77 Third Pers Pron—Neut Base *ta-* (or *sa-*)

- (i) Nom Acc sg *ta* G,K, *tam* S,D,I,PE (only Acc), MIRE (only Acc), *se* K,M,D,J,PE, MRE (also Mysore Gr)
(a) *se* is exceptionally found in G
(b) *śe* is graphical at K, it is also found at Kq
(c) *so* and *sa* also occur at S
- (ii) Nom Acc pl *-m* cf *tānt* d PF
(a) Forms *śa* in S and *se* in M are perhaps mas

§ 78 Pronominal base *na-* (cf Hemacandra III 70-77)

- (i) Acc pl Masc *ne* G
- (ii) Acc pl Neut *nān* G, PE

§ 79 Demonstrative *etad* Mas The base is either *eta-* (and *esa-* in nom) or *etaka-*

- (i) Nom sg
esā G,D,PE (with *esā* cf *sā* and *Magā*)
ese K
eśe K,S,M, *esa* K,M
- (ii) Inst sg *-na* *etakena* S,M,D,J, *etena* PE
(a) Final *-a* is lengthened at K, cf *etakenā*
- (iii) Dat sg *-ya* in the Western and Southern and *-ye* in other regions
etāya, *etākāya* G, (K),yr, *etāye*, S,M,K,D,J,PE, *etākāye* S,M,K(?),D

72. *taphā* < **tamhā* < Sk. *tasmat*, cf BÜHLER, ZDMG 37, 592

(iv) Gen sg. The base becomes *eti*-⁷³ *etiṣā* K (note the final -ā), *etiṣa* S,M ; but *etasa* M,D,J

(v) Loc sg -*mhi* in the West and -*si* in the East. *etamhi* G , *etasi* d,j

(vi) Nom pl *ete* G,d,PE, *eta* S,M.

(vii) Loc pl -*su* cf *etiesu* PE.

§ 80 Demonstrative *etad* Fem (base *esā*- or *etakā*-)

(i) Nom sg -ā *esā* G,RE, Mysore Gr *eṣa* K,S,M, *etā(ta)kā* j , *hesā* yr

§ 81 Demonstrative *etad* Neuter (The base is *eta*- or *esa*-)

(i) Nom sg

1 -*a* or -*am* cf *eta* or -*am* G,S,M , *esa* (or *esā*) G,D,J,PE,MRE
(cf Hem 385)

2 -*e* cf *ese* or *eṣe* K,S,M,b , *etake* S

(ii) Acc sg -*a* or -*am*, cf *eta* G , *etam* D,J,PE

(iii) Inst s. -*na*, -*nā* and -*ni*, cf *etena* S, *etnā* ru, and *eteni* (for -*nā*) bh

(iv) Dat sg -*ya* *etiya* ru (note the base *eti*-), *etāya* br sd

(v) Nom Acc pl -*ni* *etāni* K,S,M,J,PE

§ 82 Demonstrative *idam*,—Mas

(i) Nom sg *iyam* G,K,S,M,D,J *iyam* K D,J MRE

(a) In the North West we get also *ayi* S,M

(b) Loss of anusvāra is found in ru and mk, cf *iya*

(ii) Acc sg *ima* or *imam* MRE

(iii) Inst sg *imnā* G,br,sd,yr , *imena* J

(iv) Dat sg *imāye* D,ru

(v) Gen sg *imasa* G,M,D , *imasā* K , *imusa* S (note the base *imi*-)

(vi) Loc sg *imamhi* G

(vii) Nom pl *ime* G,K,D,M,T,br,sd,jtr

(viii) Inst pl *imehi* D,J

§ 83 Demonstrative *idam*,—Feminine

(i) Nom sg *ayam* G , *iyam* G,K,M,Rdh, bb

(a) *aya* and *ayi* also occur at S(M)

(ii) Acc sg *imam* PE

(iii) Dat sg *imāya* G,K , *imāye* D,M , *imisa* S (an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii)

(iv) Loc sg *imāyah* Kpb

§ 84 Demonstrative *idam*,—Neut

(i) Nom sg *idam* G,S,M , *ayam* G , *iyam* K,S,M,D,J,PE, MRE

(a) Final anusvāra is dropped, cf *iya* Mysore Gr , M , *ida* G,S

(b) The N-Western dialect also furnishes the forms *imam*, *ima* and *īyo*

(ii) Acc sg *idam* G , *imam* K,S,M,D,J,MRE

(iii) Nom pl *imāni* PE

§ 85 Relative *yad*-, Masculine In the forms of all genders of this pronoun the loss of initial *y*- appears as an Eastern characteristic with its influence over other regions. It never occurs in the West

73 This base is perhaps due to analogy with Pāli *kassa* *kassa* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii.

- (i) Nom. sg ¹ -o in the West and N-West, -e elsewhere
yo G,S,(M), ye K,M,D,J,PE
(a) initial y- is dropped and we get e K,D,J,PE,MRE
- (ii) Inst sg -na cf yena K,S,M,PE
(a) ena is given by T,d,j
- (iii) Gen sg, -sa yasa G,S,M
(a) With the loss of initial y, asa D,J and with the lengthening of final -a, asā K
- (iv) Nom pl ye G,K,S,M,D,J,PE
(a) The form yā is given by ru
(b) The loss of initial y- results in the form e K,M,D,J,jtr
- (v) Gen pl -saḥ or -ṣam, yesam G, yeṣam K, M, yesa S
- (vi) Loc pl -ṣu, -su, or -ṣu cf yeṣu K, yesu S, yeṣu M

§ 86 Relative yad-,—Feminine

- (i) Nom sg -ā yā D,T, ya S,M
(a) Loss of y- cf ā d,j
- (ii) Nom pl -ā yā G, ya S,M

§ 87 Relative yad-,—Neuter

- (i) Nom sg ya G,yr, yam S,M,yr, ya K,M,PE
(a) Loss of y- e K,D,J,PE,MRE
(b) kālsī dialect also gives the forms -a and -am
- (ii) Acc sg yam or ya G,K,S,M,MRE
(a) am K,D,J,s
(b) e M,K
(c) The Mas form yo is given by the N-Western dialect
- (iii) Nom pl yām G, PE
(a) ām D,J

§ 88 Interrogative Pronoun,—Masculine

- (i) Nom sg -o in the West and -e in other regions
ko-ci G, ke-cā D,J, ke-cha K, ke-chi M
(a) Ending -a is found in ka-ci at S
- (ii) Inst sg kena-ḥi in sn, *kinā in kmasu T (cf kinā Hemaçandra, III, 69, PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 428 and HULTZSCH, p cxix)
- (iii) Abl sg a-kasmā d j
- (iv) Acc. pl -ām cf kām PE

§ 89 Interrogative Pronoun,—neuter As in Mas most of the forms occur with the particle -ci

- (i) Nom, Acc sg kī- or kīm- G,K,S,M,D,J,PE,MRE
(a) In G kam occurs as an indefinite, the form occurs in D,J, also
(b) ke-ci for kiñci is given by bh
(c) PE give forms as kimam and kiñmam in the Acc
- (ii) Nom, Acc pl kām K,D,J,PE

§ 90 Pronominal base anya-, Masculine

- (i) Nom sg ending -e appears even in G under the Eastern influence
aṇṇe G, aṇṇe S,M, aṇṇe K,D,J,PE
(a) The final -e > -i in the N-Western dialect, cf amñi S.

- (ii) Dat. sg -ya in the West and -ye elsewhere.
aīāya G, aīāye S,M, aīnāye K,D,J
- (iii) Gen. sg -sa -aīnāsa G, -aīasa S,M
(a) Final -a > ā in K, cf -anaśā (-ś- being graphical)
- (iv) Loc sg -mhi, cf aīamhi G
- (v) Nom pl -e in all versions
amīe or aīe G,S,M, amne K,D,PE
- (vi) Gen pl -nam, cf amnānam T
- (vii) Loc pl -su, cf amnesu D,T

§ 91 Pronominal base *anya-* Neuter

- (i) Nom sg -a or -am occurs in the West and N-West and -e in other regions.
aīa G, aīam S, amne K,D,I,Kq, aīe M
(a) -e occurs in G cf aīe
(b) -a occurs in T, cf ana
- (ii) Nom, Acc pl -nī in all versions
aīānī G,S,M, amnānī K,D,J,PE

§ 92 Pronominal base *sarva-* Masculine

- (i) Nom sg -c, save PE
- (ii) Acc sg -am, savam K,D,J,S,M (savram)
- (iii) Inst sg -na, savena d,j
(a) The dental is cerebralised, cf savenā j
- (iv) Gen sg -sa, savasa d,j
- (v) Loc sg -e in the West and -sī in the North save G, savasī T
- (vi) Nom pl -e in all versions cf save Major RE
- (vii) Loc pl -su in all versions, but -su in the North and North-West
savesu G,D,I,K,T,sn, saveṣu S,M

§ 93 Pron base *sarva-* Feminine

- (i) Nom sg -ā, savā K

§ 94 Pron base *sarva-*—Neuter

- (i) Nom sg -am in the West and N-West and -e elsewhere
sarvam G sarvam S,M, save K,D,I, sarve b
(a) -a occurs at K and yr in sava
(b) -e occurs at S,M cf savre
- (ii) Acc sg -am everywhere, cf savam G,K,S,D

§ 95 Pron base *ekata-*

- (i) Loc sg ending -mhi in the West, -e⁷⁴ in the N-West and -sī in the North
ekatarāmhi G, ekatare S⁷⁵, ekatalaśī⁷⁵ (1 e sī) K

§ 96 Pron base **ekatya*⁷⁵

- (i) Nom pl Mas -ā, ekacā G, ekatīyā K,D,J,M, ekatīa S

§ 97 Pron base *itara-*

- (i) Nom sg Neut -e, itale K, itare M

§ 98 Pron base *ubhaya-*

- (i) Gen pl -sam, ubhayesam K,M
(a) Final anusvāra is dropped in S cf ubhayesa

74 This is the reading of HULTZSCH, others read *ekataraspi*

75 For Pāli *ekaca-* cf GEIGER, *Pāli*, § 113,

II NUMERALS

(A) CARDINALS

§ 99 ONE Mas. and Neut. base *eka-*(i) Nom. sg. Mas. *-o* in the West and *-e* elsewhere.*eko* G, *eke* M,K,D,J,sn (*ikike*)(ii) Acc. sg. Neut. *-am*, *ekam* S,M,yr(iii) Inst. sg. *-na*, *ekena* d,j§ 100 One Fem base *ikā-* (for *ekā-*)(i) Nom. sg. *-ā*, *ikā* sn(ii) Acc. sg. *-am*, *ikam* sn§ 101 Two Mas. and Neut. *dva-* or *duva-*(i) Nom. Masc. *-o* in the West and *-e* elsewhere*dvo* G, *duve* S,M,K,D,J(a) The final *-e* > *-i* at S, cf. *duvi*(ii) Nom. Neut. *-e*, *duve* s(iii) Inst. *-hi*, *duvehi* PE§ 102 Two Fem base *dva-* or *duva-*(i) Nom. *-e* in G and *-i* in S *dve* G, *duvi* S§ 103 THREE Mas. and Neut. base *ti-* or *tri-* (*traya-*)(i) Nom. Mas. *-ī* at G and *ō* at S *tī* or *tṛī* G, *trayo* S(ii) Nom. Acc. Neut. *-m*, *tīm* K,M, and *timm* K,D,J,P7 (= Pkt. *timma*).§ 104 THREE Fem base *ti-*(i) Loc. *-su*, *tisu* PE

§ 105 FOUR Mas. and Neut. forms are taken from Sk

(i) Nom. Mas. *-o*, *catpāro* G(ii) Acc. Masc. *-e* *catpura* S,M(iii) Nom. Neut. *-i*, *catāli* K (this form is used for Mas.)§ 106 FIVE *pañca-*(i) Loc. *-su*, *pañcasu* G,K,D,J, *-su* S,M§ 107 SIX *ṣa-*(i) Loc. *-su*, *ṣasu* S,M,K§ 108 EIGHT *aṣṭa* S,M,K§ 109 TEN *daśa* G,K,D,J, *daśa* S,M§ 110 TWELVE *dvādāsa* G, *badaya(śa)s⁷⁶*, *duvādāsa* K,T,Rdh,Rp,bb, *duvādāsa* D,J, *duvadaśa* and *duvaḍaśa* M, *duvāḷasa* Mth§ 111 THIRTEEN *traidāsa* G, *tedāsa* K,D,J, *treḍasa* M; *todaśa* S⁷⁷§ 112 FOURTEEN *codāsa* ng§ 113. NINETEEN *ekunavīsati* bb§ 114 TWENTY *vīsati* tm, ng§ 115 TWENTY-FIVE *pañnavīsati* PE§ 116 TWENTY-SIX *ṣaḍvīsati* PE§ 117. TWENTY-SEVEN *satavīsati* T§ 118. FIFTY-SIX *śapamnā* s.76 The Niya form is *badāśa*, see BURROW § 8977. The Niya form is *trodāsa*, see BURROW § 89.

§ 119 HUNDRED base *sata-*

- (i) Nom pl. Masc. -ā, *satā* MRE.
- (ii) Acc pl. Neut. -m, *satām* or *śatām* Major RE
- (iii) Inst pl. -hi, *satehi* or *śatehi* Major RE
- (iv) Loc pl. -su, *śateṣu* K, *śateṣu* S, *sateṣu* M

§ 120 THOUSAND base *sahas-*

- (i) Loc pl. -su, *sahasesu* J, *sahasenum*⁷⁸ d (as read by HULTZSCH; others read -su).

§ 121 HUNDRED-THOUSAND base *sata-sahas-*

- (i) Nom sg. -e, *śata-sahasre* S,M, *śata-śahase* K
- (ii) Nom pl. -m, *sata-sahasrām* G, *-sahasam* S, *-sahasram* M, *-sahasām* K,D,J
- (iii) Loc pl. -su, *sata-sahasesu* PE

(B) ORDINALS

- § 122 FOURTEENTH *cāvudāsā* PE
- § 123 FIFTEENTH *pañnaḍasā* PE, *pañcadasā* Ksb *pañnaḷasā* Rdh, Mth
- § 124 HUNDREDTH *śata-* S,M, *śata-* K
- § 125 THOUSANDTH *sahasra-* S, M, *śaḥaṣa-* K

III CONJUGATION

§ 126 As in declension, the conjugational system of the inscriptions is much simplified. Thus the dual number is altogether lost and the middle voice lingers on only in the West. Yet as the forms given below will bear out, in comparison with later Prakrits, the conjugational system of the Aśokan inscriptions still bears an archaic nature. The ten classes of verbs found in the old system are mostly reduced to the -a class, and in some measure to the -aya class. The full forms in Sanskrit with the necessary phonetic changes are also inherited in some cases.

§ 127 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Active

- (i) 1st pers sg. -mi in all versions
karomi G, *karemi* S,M, *palakamāmi* D,J, *vidahāmi* PE
ichāmi MRE, *sumi* MRE
(a) -m in *palakamām* at K is a mistake
- (ii) 3rd pers sg. -ti in all versions
ichati S,M,K,D,J, *dekhati* PE, *pasati* G, *hoti* Mysore Gr, *athi* ru, s, *ānapayati* yr
- (iii) 1st pers pl. *ma*, *susuma* yr
- (iv) 3rd pers pl. -anti in all versions except G
-ati (with loss of anusvāra) G and all other versions
ichati, *prāṇayati* G, *ichanti* S,M,K,D,J, *laghamti* PE
va-ati K, *vasati* S,M, *kaleti* D,J

§ 128 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Middle

- (i) 3rd sg. -te occurs only in the West, other regions give active -ti
karote G, but *kaleti* K,D,J, *karoti* S,M
(a) -ti occurs in G cf. *karoti*
(b) -te occurs in D cf. *manate*

⁷⁸ For the use of -(e)sum in literary Prakrits HULTZSCH compares FISCHER, Gr. § 371.

(ii) 3rd pl. .

1 -*te* in G alone. cf *karomte*2 -*re*⁷⁹ in G, *anuvatare*, but *anuvataṃti* K, *anuvataṃti* S.

§ 129 PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE,—Active

(i) 1st sg. -*mī* in all versions The term is of indicative*sukhāpayāmi* G, *sukhāyāmi* K,S,M,D,J, *sāvāpayāmi* PE(a) Final -*i* > *ī*, cf *āvahāmi* Rdh

(ii) 3rd sg

1 -*ā* (< -*āt* ?) G, *manā*⁸⁰2 -*tu* K The term is of imperative, *susuṣātu*3 -*ti* sn The term is of indicative, *huvāti*(iii) 1st pl -*ma* at M *dipayama*(iv) 2nd pl -*thā*, *mkhīpāthā* and *vivāsāpayāthā* sn, *lkhāpayāthā* s

(v) 3rd pl

1 -*tu* at K, *palakamātu*2 -*vū* at D, J The term is of optative cf *nikhamāvū*

§ 130 SUBJUNCTIVE Middle

(i) 3rd pl -*te* only at M *parakramate* (HULTZSCH's reading)

§ 131 OPTATIVE Active

(i) 1st sg -*eyam* in the West and the N West and -*eham* elsewhere*gacheyam* G, *vraceyam* S, *yeham* K,K,D,J*abhyumnāmayeham* T

(ii) 3rd sg

1 *va*, *asa* G (— Pāli *assa* for **asyāt*)⁸¹2 -*e*, *bhave* G, *ugacha(che)* d3 -*eyā*⁸², in all versions *tiṣṭeya* G, *nivaṭeyā* K, *dakheyā* d,j,*anupaṭipajeyā* T, *adhigacheyā* mk4 -*yā*, *siyā* S,M,D,J,PE, MRE5 -*ti*, (indicative term) in North and N-West *siyāti* K,S,M6 -*vā*, *pāpovā* PE(iii) 1st pl -*ema*, *dipayema* G,K, *gachema* d,j

(iv) 3rd pl

1 -*u* G,K,S,M, cf *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*)⁸⁴2 -*eyā* in all versions, *vaseyu* S,M,G, *huveyu* K, *caleyū* j,*pakameyu* br, sd, *suneyu* bb3 -*evū*, in non-Western regions, *vasevu* K, *calevū* d, *pavatayevū* and*upadahevū* PE, *jānevū* yr4 -*vu*, *yāvu* sn

§ 132 OPTATIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg -*thā*⁸⁴ only in G, *paṭipajetha*, other versions give active forms like *paṭipajeyā* S,M,K,D,J79 For the use of -*re* in Vedic Sk, Pkt, and Pāli cf FISCHER § 45880. With this form HULTZSCH compares such Vedic forms as *paśyāt*, see p lxvii

81 HULTZSCH, p lxvii

82 For parallels to this contracted term, cf HULTZSCH, p lxxxii

83 HULTZSCH, p lxvii

84 For this term, cf. GEIGER, *Pāli*, §129

(ii) 3rd pl (desiderative) *-era* only in G, *susumsera*, other versions have *sususeyru* K, *suśruṣeyu* S,M

§ 133 IMPERATIVE,—Active

(i) 3rd sg *-tu*, *hotu* K,D,J,PE,MRE, *bhotu* S,M

(ii) 2nd pl *-tha* in all versions (indicative ending)

paṭivedetha G, *dekhatha* d,j, *likhāpayatha* s, *nivesayātha* yr

(a) *-ta* is obtained in *lekhāpeta* ru

(iii) 3rd pl *-amtu*, *yaṇamtu* Major RE, *anupaṭipajamtu* PE *jānamtu* Kpb

(a) The anusvāra is dropped in *myātu* G, *manatu* K, *mañatu* S

(b) *ru* (due to the influence of middle ending) occurs only at G,
cf *srunāru*

§ 134. IMPERATIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg passive *-lām* only in G *anuvidhiyātām*, S,M,K give active, *anuvidhiyātu*

desider *-tā* only in G, *susrusatā*, but active forms such as *sususatū* (K), *susāsatu* (DJ) are found in other versions

(ii) 3rd pl *-ām* in G, *anuvataram*, but active *anuvatamtu* K, *-vatatu* S,D

§ 135 IMPERFECT,—Active

(i) 3rd sg form of *bhū* is *aho* (< **abhot*⁸⁵?) everywhere

§ 136 AORIST,—Active

(i) 1st sg *-sam*, *husam* Mysore gr *-sa*, *husa* yr

(ii) 3rd sg *-mi*, *nīkrami* S,M, *nīkhami* D

(iii) 3rd pl *-su*, *ñayāsu*⁸⁶ G, *nīkhamisu* K,D J, *abhuvasu*⁸⁷ S,M,
husu PE,MRE

(a) *-msu*, *ahumsu*⁸⁸ G

(b) *-ṣu*, *nīkramiṣu* S,M, *mañiṣu* K

§ 137 AORIST,—Subjunctive

(i) 3rd pl *-ṣu*, *mañiṣu* S,M *-sā*, *alocayisā* D,J,M,K

§ 138 AORIST,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg *-thā*,⁸⁹ *nīkhamithā* K, *huthā* and *vadhuthā* T The middle forms occur in K and T only exceptionally Active forms are employed elsewhere Cf *nīkrami* S,M, *nīkhami* D

(a) The ending is cerebralised in *nīkhamithā* So

§ 139 PERFECT,—Active

(i) 3rd sg of 'to speak' The forms are *āhā* in all versions

(a) Forms *ahati* and *hahati* occur in S

§ 140 FUTURE,—Active The occasional change of *-s-* > *-h-* in the plural term is noteworthy

85 HULTZSCH, p lxviii

86 This equals Sk **nyayāsuh*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii

87 The term *-su* affixed to Sk Aorist form *abhūvan*, cf JOHANSSON, *Dialect der Shāh Redaction*, § 30

88 This is based on 3rd sg *chu-* = Sk *abhūt*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii

89 For Pālī and Ardha-Māgadhī term, *-tithā*, see MÜLLER, *Pālī Gr* p 115 and PISCHEL, *Gr* § 517

(i) 1st sg

1 *-sam* or *-šam*, in the West, N-West and PE *lakhāpayisam* G ;
palubhasayisam PE, *kašam* S,

2 *-šām*, *-sām* in the East and N-West *lekhāpešām* K,S,M,
hosām D,J

(a) M once gives *-šam* cf *kašam*

(b) K once gives *kachām*

(ii) 3rd sg *-sat*, *-šat* or *-šat* almost in all versions.

ānpayisat G, *khamisat* D,J, *vaḍhisat* S, *vaḍhisat* PE,s,b,
anapayisat yr, *kašat* S,M

(a) The vowel *-a* in *-sat* becomes *-i-* due to *-y-* (in *-syat*) especially in
the South *vaḍhisat* br,sd,jtr,mk,Kpb,rū, *vaḍhasitā* for *-sit* (?) yr

(b) The following inherited forms may be noted *kachat* K,D,J,PE,
bhākhāt (and *caghat*) PE

(iii) 2nd pl *-sathā* and *-hatha*, *esatha* j = *ehatha* d *ālādhasathā* d,j(iv) 3rd pl *-samti*, *-šamti* or *-šamti*

anusāstisamti, G,K, *mkhamsamti* D,J, *anapešamti* and *kašamti* S,
vaḍhisamti PE

(a) Note the forms *kachamti* K,D,J,PE, *chaghamti* PE

(b) *-s-* > *-h-* in the ending *-hamti*, *dāhamti* PE, *hohamti* T

§ 141 FUTURE,—Middle

(i) 3rd pl *-sa-re* only in G, *anuvatisare*, other versions give active *anuvati-*
samti D,K (*-vat-*), *-šamti* S,M

§ 142 PASSIVE,—Indicative

(i) 3rd sg *-ti* in non-Western area

pasavat K,S,M (*pra-*), *khāḍiyat* PE

(ii) 3rd pl *-re* only in the West, *ārabhare* G, but *-amti* in the rest, *anuvīdhī-*
yamti K,PE, *ālabbhiyamti* M,D,J

§ 143 PASSIVE,—Imperative

(i) 3rd sg *-tām* only in G *anuvīdhīyatām*, but *anuvīdhīyatu* S,M

(ii) 3rd pl *-amtu*, *anuvīdhīyamtu* K

§ 144 PASSIVE,—Optative

(i) 3rd sg *-yā*, *diseyā* bh

(ii) 3rd pl

1 *-yā* or *-vū*, *yujeyā* j, *yujevū* d

2 *-su* (Aorist term see above § 128) *hamāyasu* S

§ 145 PASSIVE,—Aorist.

(i) 3rd pl *-su*, *ārabhisu* G,M, *arabhiyasu* S, *āla(m)bhīyasu* K,D,J

§ 146 PASSIVE,—Future

(i) 3rd pl *-sare* in G, *ārabhisare* G, but *-samti* elsewhere

susumsera G, *śuśuṣyu* K, *suśruṣeyu* E,M

§ 147 PASSIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd pl *-re*, *ārabhare* G, *-iya-re*, *anuvīdhīyare* G

§ 148 FUTURE PASSIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd pl *isa-re*, *ārabhisare* G,

§ 149 DESIDERATIVE,—Imperative.

- (1) 3rd sg.
- tā*
- G,
- tu*
- S,M,D,J.

susrusatā G, *susūsatu* D,J, *suśruṣatu* S,M

§ 150 DESIDERATIVE,—Optative

- (1) 3rd pl
- ra*
- in G,
- yu*
- K,S,M

susumsera G, *śuśuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣyu* S,M

§ 151 DESIDERATIVE,—Subjunctive.

- (1) 3rd sg
- tu*
- ,
- susūsātu*
- K

§ 152 PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Active

- (1)
- anta-*
- , or
- ta-*
- (with the loss of anusvāra),
- santa-*
- Major RE, PE, MRE,
- kalala-*
- K,
- karata-*
- S,M,
- aśata-*
- M

(a) The two forms *karum* and *karu* occur in G as nom sg Mas

§ 153 PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Middle

- (1) The ending
- māna*
- occurs in all versions

bhuvijamāna- G, *adamāna-* K,D,J, *aśamana-* S (but active form *aśata-* in M), *viṣṇamāna-* S,K, *anuvēkhamāna-* T, *samāna-* (< √as-) br, sd.

- (a) The ending sometimes takes the form
- mīna*
- cf
- sampaiṣṭajamīna-*
- d,
- viṣṭaiṣṭajamīna-*
- d (but active form
- pātayanta-*
- in j),
- pāyamīna-*
- PE,
- pakamamīna-*
- sd,yr,ru,b,
- palakamamāna-*
- s

- (b) The dental is cerebralised in the South cf
- pakamamīna-*
- (?) br,
- samāna*
- Kpb

§ 154 PAST PARTICIPLE,—Passive

- (1)
- ta*
- ,
- mata-*
- Major RE, T,
- prakamta-*
- Mysore Gr,
- pakamta*
- MRE,
- upayita-*
- yr

- (a) The ending is often cerebralised (under the influence of
- r*
-) in non-Western regions cf
- kaṭa-*
- M,K,D,J,T, sn,rm,ru,Kpb,
- apakaṭha-*
- PE,
- vyūṭha-*
- ru,yr (but
- vyūṭha-*
- br)

- (ii)
- na*
- , most of the forms are inherited from Sanskrit

prasanna- G, *prasana-* S,M, *paśanna-* K, *-uvigina-* d,j

- (a) For Pkt forms cf
- dimna-*
- T,
- dina-*
- bb

- (b) For a few other inherited forms cf
- ladha*
- G,K,S,M,
- suḍha-*
- S,D,J,So,
- pata-*
- PE,
- asvattha-*
- PE, etc

§ 155 FUTURE PARTICIPLE,—Passive

- (1)
- tava*
- used in the West and the South,
- taviya-*
- (or
- ṭaviya-*
-) in other regions

katavya- G, *drahitavya-* Mysore Gr, *kaṭaviya-* M,K,D,J,T, *puṣetaviya* S,M, *hamtaviya-* PE, *dekhitaviya-* MRE

- (a)
- ṭaviya*
- occurs in the South, cf
- kaṭaviya-*
- sd, jtr

- (b)
- y-*
- of the ending is characteristically dropped in S, cf
- viṣetaviya-*

- (c)
- vy-*
- of the ending is assimilated to
- v-*
- in S, cf
- kaṭava-*

- (d)
- tava*
- occurs as an exception in the East. cf
- sarhcalitavya-*
- j (but
- taviya-*
- d)

- (e) forms with
- tavāya*
- are apparently mistaken cf
- lā(h)khāpetavaya-*
- ru;
- vivasetavāya*
- ru

- (f) similarly
- icitaya-*
- in j is perhaps meant for
- taviya-*
- .

- (ii) *-anya-* . *vedaniya-* K,S,M , *asvāsaniya-* j
 (iii) *-ya* : Most of the forms are assimilated or dissolved and a few are palatalised.
saka- G, Mk, ed , *iaka-* S,M , *dupatīvekha-* PE , *sakiya-* J,ru,yr,
cakiya- d,J,s,b,Kpb , *kaca-* G
 (a) The cluster is preserved in *avadhya-* Rdh (but *avadhya-* T) , *cakya-* b.

§ 156 INFINITIVES,

- (i) of Accusa *-tu* (< *-tuh*) *ārādhetu* G
 (ii) of Dat *-tave* (< *-tavar*) *chamutave* G, *khamutave* D,J , *bhetave* (< \sqrt{bhid})
 PE , *jāpotave* MRE , *ārādheta* yr
 (a) The dental is cerebralised in *palhaṭave* T

§ 157 ABSOLUTIVES The distinction between *-tvā* and *-ya* is not maintained
 Of the two types of absolutes, those with *-tvā* are more commonly used

- (i) *-tpā* (< *-tvā*) in the West, *ārabhūtpā* G
 (ii) *-tu* (< *-tvā*) in other versions *sutu* K,T , *srutu* S,M , *jāntu* d
 (a) The dental is cerebralised in *kaṭu* d, *kaṭū* j
 (b) The ending is extended to *-tūnam* in bb cf *abhiwādetūnam*⁹⁰
 (iii) *-ya* *sachāya* (< *sam-√kṣā*) = *sam-khyā* G , *samkhaya* S,M
 (a) Instead of the form *samkheye* at K we are asked to read *samkhāya*
 (b) The final *-a* > *-ā*, cf *sarṇamdhāpayyā* sn.
 (c) The palatalised form *āgāca* occurs in rm, ng
 (d) The cluster is preserved in *adhigicya* bh
 (iv) *-ti* (< Vedic *-tvī*) is found only in the N-Western dialect⁹¹
 Cf *tiḥiti*, *viṇṇiti* S , *draṣeti* M.

90 Cf PISCHEL, Gr § 585

91. It is found in the Niya Prakrit as well. See BURROW, § 102.

CHAPTER II

SYNTAX

§ 158 It is not intended to give here a detailed account of Aśokan syntax.¹ However, such syntactical peculiarities as are observed in the government of cases, case variations, irregularities in concord, absolute constructions and a few others are discussed below. In all such cases where the different versions are unanimous in showing a peculiarity the illustration from only one version is quoted and the others are referred to in brackets. It is hardly necessary to observe again that the study of syntax made in this chapter is on the same comparative lines as in earlier chapters on Phonology and Morphology.

§ 159 Government of Cases

(a) accusative The verb $\sqrt{yuj-}$ takes acc

(1) *imsa aḥasa vadhu yujamtu* S (RE 4, J)-

(11) *.. mahāmālā sasvatam samayam etam yujeyu* J (1, Z)

(b) instrumental

1 *anyatra* takes instr in the sense 'except, without

(1) *śūdata-pālale dūsaṃpaṭṭipādāye amnata agāyā dhammakāmatāyā*
T (PE, 1, C)

(11) *dukale cu iyam anatā agenā palakamenā* K (RE 6, N),
also cf RE, 10, E

2 *param* takes instr in the sense 'beyond, after

(1) *palam cā tenā Amṭiyogenā* K (RE, 13, Q)

(11) *palam cā tehi ye apatiye* K (RE, 5, E)

3 Comparative suffix *-tara* takes instr

(1) *nathu hi kammatalā savalokahitenā* K (RE, 6, K) But the
G version alone uses abl cf *sava-loka-hitaṭṭā*

(11) *kim hi imena kaṭavīyatalā* J, (9, L) Here the G version also
adopts instr

(c) dative

1 $m\sqrt{stṛ-}$ takes dat in the sense 'to entrust'

(1) *athā hi paṇam viyatāye dhātīye msiṃtu asvathe hoti* T (PE, 4, I)

(d) ablative

1 *ā* takes abl in the sense 'even-to, as far as'

(1) *dupada-catupadesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakṣināye*
T (PE, 2, E)

(11) *a Tambapaṇṇiya* M, 13, Q (see *yāvat* below)

2 *yāvat* takes abl in the sense 'as far' or 'as long as'

(1) *iyam kaṭavīye magale āva tasā aḥasā mivutiyā* K (RE, 9, H)

But G version gives dat cf *āva tasa aḥasa mśānāya*

1 Certain peculiarities of Aśokan Syntax have been studied by Dr JOÉ CANEDO in his *Zur Wort- und Satzstellung in der alt-und mittelmündischen Prosa*

2 References are to HULTZSCH's edition.

- (11) *avam Tambapannayā* K, (13, Q, also S).

(e) genitive

- 1 $\sqrt{dā-}$ or *dāna* governs gen.

- (1) *bandhana-badhānam munśānam*, *me yote dāme*
T (PE, 4, L)

- (11) *bambhana-samanānam cā sādhu dāne* K, 3, D (also G, S, M) But dative is used in the versions at D and J (3, D)
bambhana-samanehi sādhu dāne

For the use of gen., also cf RE, 8, E, RE, 11, C etc where even the D and J versions give gen

- 2 $\sqrt{bhū-}$ in the sense 'to occur', 'to perform' takes gen

- (1) *esa me huthā* T, 7, D, J 'The following occurred to me'

- (11) *dhrama-carane pi ca na hoti asūsa* M, (RE, 4, H)

- 3 $\sqrt{dars-}$ takes gen of the person to whom something is shown

- (1) *divyāni lupāni dasayitu paṇasa* K (RE, 4, B), but the G version gives acc cf *dasayitpā janam*

- 4 $upa\sqrt{kr-}$ and $apa\sqrt{kr-}$ take gen

- (1) *para-praśamḍasa pi ca upakaroti* S, 12, F (also G and M)

The K version, however gives acc cf *palapāṣaḍa upakaleti*

- (11) *para-praśamḍasapi ca apakaroti* S, 12, G (also G and M) The K version gives acc as above cf *pala-pāṣaḍa pi vā apakaleti*

- 5 $pratī\sqrt{vid-}$ 'to inform' takes gen

- (1) *aḥam janasa paṭivedetu me* S (RE, 6, D and F)

- (11) *se hakam anusāsitu chandam ca veditu tūphāka* d, 2, J, at J 2, K however acc seems to be intended cf *tūpheni hakam anusāsita chāmdam ca vedita*

- 6 peculiar use of *siyā* (< Sk *syāt*) with gen

- (1) *siyā antānam avijitānam* 'It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask)' d, 2, F, J, 2, G cf the use of $\sqrt{bhū-}$ above and LUDERS, SPAW, 1914, 866 ff

- 7 *suśrūṣā* takes gen (and loc)

- (1) *mata-pītusu vudhanam suśrūṣa* S and M, 4, C For similar use also cf *guruna suśrūṣa* S, 13, G Here other versions have compounds cf *guru-susumsā* G

- 8 *samyak-pratīpatī* takes gen (and loc)

- (1) *dasa-bhaktasa samma-patīpatī* S, 9 G, 13, G For loc use in other versions see below

- (11) *ñātinam bambhana-samanānam sampatīpatī*, G, 4, C (also S, M, K) The versions at D and J give loc (see below)

- 9 *asampatīpatī* 'discourtesy' takes gen (and loc)

- (1) *nātinā asampatīpatī samana-bambhanānam asampatīpatī*
K, S, M, 4, A For loc in G and D see below

- 10 *sādhumatā* takes gen

- (1) *athī pi cā ekatīyā samājā sādhu-matā* *Ptyadasisā lājine*
K, 1, E

11 *toṣa* takes gen. and dat. in K version

- (1) *nathī hi me doṣe (= toṣe) uñhānāsā aṭhasamtiṇāṇye cā* K, 6, H,
For loc. use instead of gen. in all other versions see below*

12. *apaciti* 'reverence' takes gen

- (1) *gurūnaṃ apacitī* G (RE, 9, G)

(f) locative

1 *śuśrūṣā* takes loc (for gen use see above)

- (1) *sādhū mātā-pitṛiṣu śuśrūṣā* K (RE, 3, D, 4, C), also cf T, 7, HH,
etc.

2 *samyak-pratīpatti* takes loc. (for gen see above)

- (1) *nāṭiṣu sampatīpattī* D and J, 4, C. Other versions give
gen cf above.

- (11) *dāsa-bhatakamhi samyā-pratīpattī* G, 9, G. All other
versions except S give loc, also cf RE 13 G

3 *asampatīpatti* also takes loc (for gen see above)

- (1) *nāṭiṣu asampatīpattī* G and J, 4, A, S, M, K give gen

4 *toṣa* takes loc and dat. (for gen see above)

- (1) *nastī hi me toṣo uñhanasī aṭhasamtiṇāṇye cae* S, 6, H, also cf
M, D and J versions, only K gives gen

5 *anyatra* 'except' used with loc (for instr see above)

- (1) *yatā nathī ime nikāyā ānatā yoneṣu* K (RE, 13, J)

6 *anusathī* 'instruction' with loc

- (1) *am luphesu anusathī* d, 1, C and j, 1, D

7 *anugraha* takes loc

- (1) *dupada-catupadesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe* T (RE, 2 E)

8 *√icch-* and *icchā* take loc

- (1) *atha payāye icchāmi kimī hīta-sukhena yūjeyu hemeva
me icchā sava-mumsesu* j, 1, G and d, 1, F

9 *āyata* in the sense of 'vyāpṛta = occupied' takes loc

- (1) *luphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu āyata* d, 1, D and j, 1, E
(11) *lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasī āyatā* T (PE, 4, C),
also cf T, 7, M and N

10 *yāvat* used with loc (for abl see above)

- (1) *āva dāsa-bhāṭakesu sampatīpattiyā*, T, 7, HH

§ 160 Case variations

1 Nominative Case

- (a) used for acc *īya ca aṭhe pavatīsu lekhaṇeta vālata*, ru, 1, J
But acc. is regularly used in s, 1, L cf *īma ca aṭham pavatesu
lekhaṇpayā-thā*
(b) Used for instr *etameva me anuvekhamāne dhamma-ṭhambhān kaṭān*
T, 7, P

2 Instrumental case

- (a) used for nom *Devānampriyena Priyadrasī raja evaṃ aha*, M, 5, A.
But all other versions read nom regularly cf *Devānampriyo Priyadasi
rājā evaṃ āha* G (RE, 5, A)

3 Dative case

(a) used for loc

- (i) *jane ucāvucam maṅgalaṁ kaletī ābādhasi pavāsasi etāye³ amnāye cā edisāye jane bahu maṅgalaṁ kaletī* K, 9, B (also cf S, M, D, J)

But the G version gives loc regularly cf *astī jano maṅgalaṁ karote ābādhesu etamhī ca añamhī ca*

- (ii) But at other place even G uses dat for loc *tāya athāya vivādo nījhatī va santo* G, 6 F (also K, S, M)

But here D and J, 6, F give loc cf *tasī aṭhasī*

4 Genitive case This is used for more than one case

- (a) gen for nom *tuphāka* (for *tuphe* or *phe*) *tena vātaviye* d, 1, Q

(b) gen for acc

- (i) *aṁtā ca me jānevu yr* (9-10)

(c) gen (with the past passive participle) for instr

- (i) *aya dhrama-dīpi Devanapriasa raño likhāpita*, S, 1, A, other versions, however, point to the regular instr *priyadasinā rāñā lekḥāpitā* G (RE, 1, A)

- (ii) *priadaśisa raño Kaliga vīpta* S, M, K, 13 A The text in G is mutilated at this place but from the remnant *ño* it appears that gen was intended

- (iii) *hevaṁ mamā laṅkū kaṭū* PE, 4, I

- (iv) *saḍuvisati vasābhāsita me jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni*, Rdh and Mth, 5, B, but the versions at T, Ksb and Rp give instr *-vasābhāsita me* The use of *me* in gen and instr has probably led to the confusion in the above two versions

- (v) *yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhāsita me bandhana-mokḥāni kaṭāni*, Mth, 5, L, all other versions exhibit the use of instr

(d) gen for loc

- (i) *bahukam hī dosam samājasa drakhati* *Priyadasi lājā* J, K and M, 1, D, but loc is used in G and S, 1, D cf *dosam samājamhī pasati*, G

- (ii) *se icchaviye kutun ete jātā no huvevu mamā ti* d, 1, N, *me etāni jātāni* j, 1, O

- (iii) *te sava-pāsaṁdesu viyāpaṭā* *Yona-Kamboja-Gamdḥālānam e vā pi amne apalantā* K, 5, J, all other versions similarly use gen but D alone gives regular loc *vīyāpaṭā* *Gamdḥālesu Laṭhika-Pitūkesu*

- (iv) Introduction of gen. in the midst of locatives. *evameva hida raja-viśavaspi Yona-Kamboyeṣu Nabhaka-Nabhita Bhoja-Pitūkeṣu dhramanuśastī anuvāṇanti*, S, 13, R, but the versions at K and M give loc instead cf *Nābhaka-Nābhapantisu* (The G version is defaced)

3 The Gīrmar version suggests that these are dat sg of mas. However, if they are regarded as fem. forms then they can equally be loc. sg

5 Locative case

(a) Loc for dat

- (1)
- paṇisā pi yule āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ*
- G (RE, 3, E)

(b) Loc for gen

- (1)
- jīvesu anālabbhe sādhu*
- , D and J, 3, D, but other versions give gen cf
- prānānam sādhu anārambho*
- G (RE, 3, D) Even D and J give gen as in other versions in RE, 4, C, cf
- anālabbhe pānānam*

§ 161 Peculiarities of Concord

1 Concord of subject and predicate

- (a) *jana* construed with sg and pl *jane dhamma susuṣā susuṣātu* (sg) *me ti dhamma-vataṃ vā anuvidhiyaṃtu* (pl) *ti* K, 10, A, but S and M use sg in both places
- (b) For the use of a collective noun in singular also cf *save catupade* (sg) *ye paṭibhogam no cti na ca khādiyati* RE, 5 B,
- (c) The predicate *astī* (*atthī*) is used with nom pl
- (1) *astī pi tu ekacā samājā sādhumatā* G (RE, 1, E)
- (11) *īyam dhammalabhi ata atthī silāthambhāni vā tata kaṭavīyā* T, 7, SS
- (d) Similarly *nāstī* (*nathī*) is used with nom pl
- (1) *osudhāni yata yata nāstī* G (RE, 2, B), for similar use also cf RE, 3, c and 13, J
- (11) *yasa nāstī sayame bhāva-sudhitā* G (RE, 7, E)
- (e) Sg predicate with plural subject
- (1) *dhammāpekkhā dhammakūmatā cā vaḍḍhisati* PE, 1, D
- (f) Pl predicate used with nom sg
- (1) *paṇisā pi ca yulāṃ gaṇanasi anapayisanti* K, 3, E Similar construction occurs in S version also But G, M and J use the predicate in sg
- (11) *ye hi kecha ala pāsada puiāti kiti ala pāsanda dīpayema* K, 12 II The versions at G and M similarly give the plural forms of *√dīpa* but the S version gives singular *dīpayami*
- (111) *kayānammeva dekkhami itani me kayāne kaṭe ti*, Rdh, Mth, RP, 3 B, but T and Ksb give sg *dekkhati*
- (1111) *tam loke anūpaṭipannu tam ca anuvidhiyaṃti* T, 7, GG

2. Concord of Noun and Adjective

1 Gender

- (a) Adj agrees with mas when the substantives are mas and fem *vivāde nījhatī vā santam (= samto)*, RE, 6, F
- (b) Adj used in neut when it qualifies different genders
- (1) *imāni āsīnavagāmīni nāma atha camdiye nījhūtiye kodhe māne* *isyā* RE, 3, F
- (c) Mas is referred to by *kāni* and *nāni* in neuter
- (1) *nātikā va kāni nījhapayisanti* PE, 4, M, also cf PE, 5, C, 6, C
- (11) *kīmti bhūtānam ānamnam gaccheyam idha ca nāni sukhāpāyāni* G (RE, 6, L)

II. Number

- (a) nom. sg adj construed with pl substantive *yena ete abhātā asvatha sahitān*, PE, 4, J

§ 162 Absolute constructions

(a) Nominative singular absolute

- (i) *kevaṃ ca kalamāṃ* (nom) *tuphe caggha sampatipādayitave* d, 1, X, for other uses cf d, 2, L and P, mk Section G
 (ii) *pātayantam* j, 1, S and T
 (iii) *santam* j, 2, Q, PE, 4, J cf LUDERS, SPAW 1913 1010
 (iv) *nāsantam* PE, 4, M cf LUDERS, ibid 1913 1023
 (v) *-paṇantam*, T, 7, PP
 (vi) *duāhale* d, 1, T cf HULTZSCH, Inscriptions of Aśoka p 95, fn 13
 (vii) The form *karum* occurring at G, 11, E and 12, F is of nom absolute according to Senart, Buhler and Hultzsch

(b) Genitive singular absolute

- (i) *adamānasā me paṭivedakā aṭham vedetu*,
 K (RE, 6, D)

(c) Locative singular absolute

- (i) *adhunā ladhesu Kalṃgesu tivo dhammavāyo*, G (RE, 13, C)

§ 163 To denote time various cases are used

- (a) Nom *sātīleke cu chavachare* ru, 1, D (cf other versions of MRE)

(b) Acc

- (i) *atikkātam aṃtaram* G (RE, 4, A), for similar use cf Major RE 5, H, 6, B, 8, A
 (ii) *sātīrekāṃ aḍḍhatīyāṃ vasāṃ* Kpb B (also cf other MRE)

(c) Inst

- (i) *bahūhi vāsa-satehi* G (RE, 4, C)
 (ii) *iminā ca kālena amisā munisā devehi* yr 4-5

(d) Dat.

- (i) *dighāya* 'in distant (future)' G, 10, A, other versions, however, use loc cf *āyatiye* and *ayatiya*
 (ii) *yā imāya kālāya amisā devā husu* ru, E, but inst is used in *etena ca aṃtalena*, s, E and *iminā kālena*, br, F

(e) Loc

- (i) *pañcasu pañcasu vāsesu* G (RE, 3, C)
 (ii) *save kāle*, G, 6, D and F, but other versions gave acc, cf *savāṃ kalam*
 (iii) *tisu cātummāsīsū* (loc) *tisāyaṃ pumnamāsīyaṃ* (loc) *tinna divasāṃ* (acc) *cāvudasaṃ paṇṇaḍasaṃ paṭipadāye* (loc) *dhuvāye cā anuposatham mache avadhīye* T, 5, H, but among the other versions of this edict, M₁ gives *paṭipadā* (nom. or acc ?) and Rdh, Mth and Rp give *paṭipadam* (acc)
 (iv) *se imāyaṃ velāyaṃ amisā devā samānā* Kpb, E

§ 164. Some peculiar constructions

- (a) Change in construction is observed in —

*te sava-pāsamedesu vyāpata dhāmadhiṣṭhānāya . . ye vā pi anñā
āparātā* G, (RE, 5, J) Here the change in the construction is made
from *ye vā* but some such word as *tesu* is omitted at the end

- (b) Similarly the construction is broken in section M of the RE 5 at G,
-
- K, S and M cf
- savesu olodhanesu e vā pi amne nātīkye
savatā viyāpaṭā*
- (K version) But the D version reads
- savesu olo-
dhanesu amnesu vā nātīkesu*

- (c)
- ta mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ya me apacam amuvatisare
tathā so sukataṃ kāsati*
- G, 5, E Here the sg construction in
- so sukataṃ
kāsati*
- in spite of the plural in antecedent is noteworthy All other
-
- versions give the plural construction in its stead

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

The grammars of different Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when all the Prakrits described in them had assumed a more or less standardised literary form. They were then no longer in the process of formation as most of the characteristics which distinguished them from one another had come to become normal. The inscriptions of Aśoka, on the other hand, represent a very early stage in the development of MI-A languages. If we were to except a few Prakritisms in Vedic Sanskrit, a few Prakrit words quoted by Sanskrit grammarians, and the Prakrit inscription on the Piprahwa vase and the Sogaura copper plate (L 931 and L 937), the inscriptions of Aśoka are the oldest dated records in MI-A dialects. It may, therefore, be assumed that these inscriptions show at least in certain cases the starting point of the characteristics noted and perhaps exaggerated by later grammarians. It would be wrong to suppose that at such an early stage as these inscriptions represent such phonetic changes as the change of intervocalic surds to sonants or loss of intervocalic stops should have any sweeping force. Such changes are therefore only restricted in their scope and are useful only in showing the tendencies of a particular region.

It would therefore be profitable to correlate the results of the studies in Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions to the treatment of various dialects given by Prakrit grammarians. Of these grammarians the following discussion takes into account only Vararuci, as the oldest Prakrit grammarian, and Hemacandra for having given an exhaustive treatment to the study of Prakrits. Though these grammarians enumerate a large number of Prakrits they treat of only three or four principal Prakrits in details viz. the Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paisācī. For our present purposes we may leave aside the question of Paisācī, as the problem of its original home is not yet finally settled. Among the rest, Māhārāṣṭrī may roughly correspond to the Western inscriptions of Aśoka, Māgadhī to the Eastern and Śaurasenī to the Central Indian inscriptions. We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and which would have corresponded with the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka. The purpose of the present chapter is to compare, wherever possible, the dialectal variations noted by the grammarians with the regional distinctions observed in Aśokan inscriptions. This will enable us to see how far the later tendencies witnessed in literary Prakrits have any historical bearing.

PHONOLOGY

I Vowels. The treatment of the vowel τ is not so specifically dealt with by the grammarians as to point to any dialectal distinction. It is, however, studied by some of the modern scholars who point out that the $\tau > a$ treatment is predominant in the West and the South and that the $\tau > i$ treatment in other regions¹. This distinction

1. J. BLOCH, *La Formation de la langue Marathe*, §31, S. K. CHATTERJEE, *Bengali Language*, §137, FISCHER, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.* §49-51, GEIGER, *Pāli Gr.* §12, all these are quoted by WOOLNER in his *Introduction to Pkt.*, §60.

finds an exact reflection in the Aś inscriptions in as much as the $r > a$ treatment is the principal one in the Western and the $r > i$ treatment in the non-Western regions.

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters, though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 143, 84 and 292, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it. "Are we therefore to interpret", asks COWELL in his edition of the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* by Vararuci (second issue, p. 186) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākṛit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" This statement is to a certain extent borne out by the Aś inscriptions. Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened in the metrically long syllables (cf. 143 and 292). In Aś inscriptions we find that short vowels in this position are only occasionally lengthened in the non-Western regions. They undergo this change in the West only in rare cases. According to Hemacandra, however, the change of long vowels before consonant clusters is of a sweeping nature (184) without any dialectal distinction. But in the inscriptions of Aśoka we notice that long vowels, except \bar{u} , are usually shortened in the regions other than the West where they are normally preserved. The long vowel \bar{u} is, however, shortened in all regions with only a few exceptions.

II Simple Consonants It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations in Prakrits are recognised by the grammarians. The elision of intervocal single consonant is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V 22, H. 1177). This compares well with Aś inscriptions where this tendency is met with only in the West and the N-West, though in a restricted number of cases. Thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in the Māhārāṣṭrī literature may be regarded to have been found in the corresponding region in the days of Asoka.

The change of $-t- > -d-$ (also $t- > d-$) and of $-th- > -dh-$ is one of the salient features of Śauraseni (V 123, H. 4260-2 and 267) and Māgadhī (H. on 4302). The change of $t- > d-$ and of $-t- > -d-$ is only exceptionally met with in the North and the N-West. This early Northern characteristic seems to have developed later on into a characteristic feature of the non-Western dialects. The change of $-th- > -dh-$ is however, not noticed in the Aś inscriptions.²

In the treatment of the palatal j and the semi-vowel y it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies. The grammarians lay down that intervocal $-j-$ is dropped and sometimes $-y-$ is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H. 1177, 180), but it is invariably changed to y , both initially and medially, in Māgadhī (V 114, H. 4292). In the Aś inscriptions, loss of intervocal $-j-$ is not met with and the change of $-j- > -y-$ is obtained not in the East so as to be a characteristic of Māgadhī later on, but in the N-West. With regard to y it is prescribed that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhī (H. 4292) it is changed to j or $-j-$ in other languages (V 231, H. 1248). But in the inscriptions of Aśoka intervocal $-y- > j-$ only in a few cases in the East and the N-West. Then again initially $y-$ is lost mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns in the Eastern dialect of

² For the first appearance of this characteristic in a little later inscriptions cf. *radha* (< Sk. *ratha*), *padhama-* (< Sk. *prathama-*), etc. in the Udayagiri inscription (L. 1345) in the East and *kadhika-* (< Sk. *kathika-*) etc. in the Amaravati inscriptions (EI 15.270.40) in the South.

Asoka and not in the Western Intervocally, however, -y is preserved in the East, its elision being restricted only to the N-West

The cerebral nasal *n* is preserved in all Prakrits except Paisāci where it is changed to the dental *n* (V 105, H 4306) As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Paisāci it is worth while to note that it is the Eastern dialect of Asoka's time which agrees with Paisāci in this respect. The cerebral *n* is preserved in the West, N-West and the South in those days³

The change of *r* to *l* in all positions forms one of the principal characteristics of Māgadhī according to the grammarians (H 4288) This change is optional in Śaurasenī, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhī and a few instances have been recorded where it occurs in Māhārāṣṭrī (V 230) This treatment of the semivowel *r* is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Asoka which point out that *l* was substituted for *r* in the court language of Magadha but not in that of the West, N-West (and the South)

The three Sk sibilants fall together in the single dental sibilant in all later Prakrits except Māgadhī (V 243, H 1260, for Paisāci cf H 4309) The Māgadhī of the grammarians singles out itself in this connection and consistently shows the palatal *ś* instead of the dental *s* (V 113, H 4288) It is in this respect again that the dialectal distinction of the later Prakrits does not correspond to the one noticed in the Aś inscriptions In these inscriptions even the Eastern dialect together with others (except in the N-West) shows the dental *s* and not the palatal *ś* The Kālsī edicts of Asoka situated in the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces no doubt point sometimes to *ś* (< *s*), but they even preserve *ṣ* or *s* or change *s* to *ṣ* As has been remarked in the treatment of these sibilants in the First Chapter on Phonology, this confusion is attributed by scholars to the ignorance of the scribe and is no longer regarded as representing the correct pronunciation of the people.

Palatalisation of a few single consonants and mostly of dentals in combination with *y* is a feature recorded by later grammarians as common to all Prakrits without any dialectal distinction The inscriptions of Asoka, however, point almost in all cases to some geographical distinction Thus the cluster *kṣ* is palatalised to *ch* in all positions in the West and the N-West but it is assimilated to *kh* in other regions The clusters -*ty*- and -*ts*- are palatalised mostly in the West, N-West and the South The clusters -*dy*- and -*dhy*- are, however, palatalised in all regions In this connection the difference in the treatment of the cluster *dy* in the Eastern inscriptions of Asoka and the Māgadhī of the grammarians may be pointed out It has been already noted that Māgadhī changes *j* to *y* and as a corollary to it the cluster *dy* is changed not to *jj* as in other literary Prakrits but to *yy* in Māgadhī (H 4292) The Eastern dialect in Asoka's period, however, only palatalises -*dy*- to -*j*- (i.e. -*jj*-) without any further change The change of -*ty*- to -*j*- or -*jj*- which is prescribed for Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī by Hemacandra (224 and 4266) is not met with in the Aś inscriptions⁴ The initial palatalisation of *t* > *c* which is found in the Eastern and North-

3 The tendency to preserve -*n*- or change it to -*n*- is witnessed even in later Prakrit inscriptions all over India The full preservation of -*n* is met with in very late inscriptions of the 4th cent AD cf for instance the language employed in the Bāsim plates of Central India (EI 26.137ff)

4 For its appearance later on in the South cf *Ruddaṣṣa* < Sk *Rudrāṣṣa* EI 17.329^a *mayādā* < Sk *maryādā* (L 1205), etc and also the Central Indian copper plates of Bāsim (EI 26.152ff).

ern dialects of Aśoka seems to have been later on incorporated by Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī also.

Cerebralisation of dentals under the influence of *r*, *ṛ* or a sibilant is noticed by grammarians as a feature common to all Prakrits. The Western dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka, however, clearly distinguishes itself from others by the preservation of the dentals in a large number of cases. The cerebralisation in Māhārāṣṭrī, therefore, seems to have been a later development under the Eastern influence. Similarly the cerebralisation of *n* to *ṇ* in all positions is a later development of the literary Prakrits (V 242, H 1228-9) which is not noticed so strongly in the earlier stages. In the inscriptions of Aśoka *n*- is preserved in all versions except the one at Kōpāl in H E H the Nizam's Dominions where *n*-|> *n*- and *-n*- > *-n*- in all cases. Intervocally *-n*- > *-ṇ*- also in the West and the N-West. Even in terminations the cerebral *-n*- (< *-ṇ*-) is replaced by the dental *-n*- in all versions except those at Mysore and Kōpāl in the South.⁵

The cluster *-ñ-* is cerebralised to *-ṇ-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (V 344, 128, H 242), but palatalised to *-ññ-* in Māgadhī (H 4293) and Paisācī (H 4303-4). But in the inscriptions of Aśoka the palatal treatment is noticed only in the West (and sometimes in the N-West), the Eastern, Central and the Northern inscriptions assimilating it to *-m-*. The cerebral treatment, again, is observed in the two distant corners viz the N-Western and Southern inscriptions.

The change of intervocal sonants to surds, both aspirate and unaspirate, forms the salient feature of Paisācī (and Cūlikā-Paisācī) Prakrit (V 103, H 4307, 325). This type of change is only sporadically observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. But the important point of note, which may contribute towards deciding of the original home of Paisācī, is that whereas in the case of *-g*- > *-k*- the change is observed in N-West and the South, the change of *-j*- > *-c*- (or *-d*- > *-t*-) may be regarded to have started in the East.

III Consonant Clusters. The principles of assimilation and others which have simplified Sk clusters in literary Prakrits are seen working in the inscriptions of Aśoka also. A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below.

(1) Clusters with stops. The change of *-lch* > *-sc-* noticed in Māgadhī (H 4295) is not witnessed in any version of the Aś inscriptions. Then again Māgadhī has some clusters with sibilants. Thus *-lṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-*|> *-ṣṭ-* in Māgadhī (H 4290 also 289). Now the cluster *-ṣṭh-* normally becomes *-ṭh* (or *-th-*) in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. It is preserved as *-ṣṭ-* but not in the East, as one may expect from its later appearance as a Māgadhī characteristic but in the Girnar version of the Rock Edicts in the West. Similarly *-stḥ-* and *-rṭh-*|> *-st-* in Māgadhī (H 4291). But these clusters become *-th-* or *-ṭh-* in Aśokan inscriptions except in the West where it is preserved in the form *-st-* seen in later Māgadhī. As these special treatments which are peculiar to later Māgadhī are seen only in the West in the Aśokan inscriptions and are not available even in the later Prakrit inscriptions in the East (e.g. the Rāmgarh cave inscriptions L 920-L921, Bodh-Gayā inscriptions L 939-L948, Udaya-

5 Partial cerebralisation of *n* is witnessed in all later Prakrit inscriptions, the tendency towards cerebralisation getting stronger from the beginning of the Christian era. The complete change of *n* > *ṇ* is felt in the 3rd and 4th cent AD copper plates. Cf. L 1194, L 1200, EI 26 137ff, etc.

giri and Khandagiri cave inscriptions L 1342-L 1353) it is very difficult to say when this characteristic went over from West to East

(ii) Clusters with *y* The cluster *ry* submits to many changes in later literary Prakrits cf. *-ry- > -ra-* (V 320, H 2107, also 67), *-ry- > -r-* (V 318-19, H 263-64), *-ry- > -ara-* and *-riyy-* (H 267) All these treatments show highly developed phonetic changes They are therefore not expected to appear in the inscriptions of Aśoka In them we find only the treatment *-ry- > -ny-, -ly-, or -y-*

The preservation of the cluster *vy* in all positions which forms the Western characteristic in Aśokan period is not observed by later grammarians as in course of time even this regional tendency must have been obliterated

(iii) Clusters with *r* It is enjoined by the grammarians that such clusters should always be assimilated They notice, however, optional preservation only in the case of *dr* (V 33-4, H 279-80) We have seen in the treatment of such clusters that they were often preserved in the N-Western and the Western inscriptions of Aśoka Thus it appears that even these clusters together with others came to be assimilated in all regions during the period of the Pkt grammarians

(iv) Clusters with *v* A dialectal variation in the treatment of the cluster *rv* is noticed by Hemacandra Whereas it is assimilated to *-vv-* in other Prakrits, it is dissolved into *-rav-* or *-lav-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H 4270 and on 4302) In the Aś inscriptions the cluster *rv* is either preserved or assimilated to *-v-* in the West and the N-West In the East (and the North), besides being assimilated to *-v-*, it is sometimes dissolved as in Māgadhi, but with this distinction that the dissolved form is *-luv-* and not *-lav-*

(v) Clusters with sibilants The changes of the cluster *kṣ* to *kh* or *ch* are already noticed above under palatalisation Further it may be mentioned here that the occasional change of *ks > -sk-* noticed by grammarians as a Māgadhi feature (V 118, H 4297) is never met with in the Aś inscriptions

(vi) Clusters with nasals

(a) With the nasal *ñ* The treatment of the cluster *ñj- > -nn-* or *-ññ-* is already discussed above A curious treatment of this cluster by which it is sometimes changed to *-j-* or *-jj-* in the literary Prakrits (V 35, H 283) is not found in Aś inscriptions The cluster *-ñj-* is assimilated to *-ññ-* in Māgadhi according to Hemacandra (4293) It is only the Shāhbāzgarhi version in the N West which corresponds to this Māgadhi characteristic by changing *-ñj- > -ñ-*, otherwise the cluster is represented as *-mj-* or *-j-*

(b) With the nasals *n* and *ṇ* The clusters *ny* and *ṇy* are always palatalised to *ññ* in Māgadhi and Paisācī according to Hemacandra (4293 and 305) They are cerebralised to *-nn-* in other Prakrits But in the inscriptions of Aśoka the palatal treatment is not witnessed in the East, it being confined to the N-West and the West In the East the clusters are assimilated to the dental nasal *n* The cerebral treatment, though rare, forms again the characteristic of the Mānsehrā version in the N-West

(c) With the nasal *m* The Cluster *-lm-* is mostly changed to *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and to *-pp-* or *-tt-* in other Prakrits (V 348, H 251 seems to allow both forms in Māhārāṣṭrī) In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is preserved as *-lp-* in the Western and the Southern divisions but assimilated to *-t-* elsewhere Thus this Aśokan Western characteristic of *-lm- > -lp-* seems to have been further developed into *-tm > -tp- > pp-* as a predominant feature of Māhārāṣṭrī

MORPHOLOGY

The dialectal variations in the declensional and the conjugational systems of the literary Prakrits are not many, and thus most of the regional variations noticed in the second chapter on Morphology seem to have been obliterated later on. Still a few peculiarities may be discussed below.

I Declension. The nom. sg. term *-e* in Māgadhi for the stems ending in *-a* (V 11 10, H 4 287) is definitely reflected in the Eastern dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka. The nom. sg. neut. *-e* found in the Aśokan Eastern dialect is, however, not met with later on in Māgadhi which gives with other Prakrits the term *-am*.

The nom. acc. pl. neut., the inst. sg., and the gen. pl. terminations of some stems always show a cerebral *-n-* in the literary Prakrits. As has been already noticed, only a beginning is made in this direction in the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka, all others and even some of the Southern inscriptions show the dental *-n-* in terminations.

The optional term *-āha* for gen. sg. and *-ham* for gen. pl. which are found in Māgadhi (V 11 12, H 4 299, 300) are never witnessed in Aś. inscriptions.

The instr., dat., abl. and gen. sg. terminations of the fem. nouns always preserve *-y-* in the endings *-yā* or *-ye* in the Aś. inscriptions. The literary Prakrits, however, never preserve this *-y-* of the terminations. They are again definitely richer in terminations for these cases than the inscriptions of Aśoka.

The nom. sg. of stems in *-i* and *-u* show either a short or long *i* and *u* at the end in the inscriptions. The literary Prakrits always end in *-ī* and *-ū* in these cases.

Among the stems ending in *-ṛ* a noteworthy feature which appears in a single inscription of Aśoka and very often in the later Prakrit inscriptions but which never figures in the literary Prakrits is the gen. sg. term *-u* coming directly from the Sk. ending *-uk* in such form as *mātuh*.

The instances of the consonantal declension are not many. Though in general such bases are transferred to the corresponding vowel bases the Aś. inscriptions preserve more Sk. forms, with the necessary phonetic changes, than the literary Prakrits. Thus for example, the instr. sg. of *-at* stem in Aś. inscriptions ends in *-ā* (cf. *bhagavatā*, *hetuvatā*) instead of *-ena* as in literary Prakrits. In the declension of *-an* and *-m* stems, however, even the literary Prakrits preserve some of the forms of the corresponding Sanskrit declension.

In the forms of Pronouns also there is not much to distinguish one literary Prakrit from the other. As compared with inscriptions the peculiar form *hage* used in Māgadhi for nom. pl. of the first personal pronoun is not found in the Aś. inscriptions. On the contrary some of the inscriptional bases as *apha-* and *tupha-* for the first and second personal pronouns respectively become obsolete in the literary Prakrits. There are also a few other peculiar forms in the Aś. inscriptions which are all detailed above in the chapter on Morphology.

II Conjugation. In this sphere also there is not much to discuss from the view point of dialectal distinctions. The change of *-t-* > *-d-* in third pers. sg. term. is noticed in Śauraseni and Māgadhi (H 4 273 and H on 4 302). This intervocal *-t-* is characteristically lost in Māhārāṣṭri which then gives terminations like *-i*, *-u* etc. Thus *-t-* is preserved only in the Pāṣāṇī Prakrit (H 4 318-19). These phonetic changes mark a clear advanced stage and as such are absent in the Aś. inscriptions. Similarly the change *-th-* > *-dh-* in the term of the second per. pl. in Imperative is found

in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, but it is absent in Aś inscriptions⁶. The regional distinctions wherever they occur in the inscriptions, as for example the terminations of the middle voice in the West almost to the exclusion of all other regions, are already noticed above and hence they are not noted here.

The formatives of the participles in the literary Prakrits differ among themselves only in this respect that whereas the intervocal *-i-* > *-d-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, its occlusion is lost in Māhārāṣṭrī. As is noticed above this stage of phonetic development is not reached in the days of Aśoka. The other point which deserves notice is that the *-n-* in the formative of the middle present participle is cerebralised to *-ṇ-* in literary Prakrits. But for a few instances of similar cerebralisation in the South, this dental *-n-* is always preserved in Aś inscriptions.

The endings of the Absolutives are rather confused in the literary Prakrits. The term *-tūnam*⁷ figures in all literary Prakrits but except for the form *abhivādetīnam* in the Bhābrā edict it is quite absent in Aś inscriptions. The term *-ttā*⁸ which is noticed by Hemacandra in his commentary on the sūtra 2 271 in the treatment of Śaurasenī language is also absent in these inscriptions. On the contrary we get *-tpā* in the West and *-tu* in other regions in the Aś inscriptions. The archaic term *-ti* (< Vedic *-tvi*) noted in the N-Western dialect naturally does not survive in the later period.

Thus it appears that some of the distinguishing characteristics of later Prakrits are reflected in the corresponding regional variations observed in Aś inscriptions. One important fact which emerges from this correlation is that some of the characteristics of later Māgadhī were current in the West (or N-West) rather than in the East in the days of Aśoka. It has been already remarked that some of these western characteristics are not apparent even in the Eastern Prakrit inscriptions of later period. But together with this it must also be remembered that sufficient inscriptional material after the period of Khāravēla's inscriptions in the East is not available. So long as such data are not available in the East the date of the movement of the Western characteristics towards the East will remain a moot point. Then again the question regarding the reasons which led to the incorporating of these foreign elements in the Eastern dialect will have to be faced. In this connection it may be noted that after the fall of Maurya empire Magadha never came into prominence till the rise of the Guptas. But it is very difficult to decide at this stage the extent to which these events in the political history of India had their reaction on the linguistic movements.

6 The voicing of *-th-* in term does not appear even in later Pkt inscriptions until we come to the 4th cent AD Bāsim copper plates cf *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, etc EI 26 153 lines 25, 26, etc.

7 This term becomes more frequent in the 2nd and 3rd cent, AD inscriptions of S India cf L 1200, L 1202, L 1203, etc also cf Nāgārjunī Koṇḍa inscriptions.

8 It occurs in the 4th cent AD copper plates at Bāsim (E 26 153, line 25) in the form *karettā*.

ASOKAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

A complete Bibliography of Asokan inscriptions has for a long time remained a desideratum awaiting fulfilment as early as possible. It is true that some scholars like Franke, Smith and D R Bhandarkar have added Bibliographical notes to their works on Asoka (see below Nos 135, 375, 377, 28) and that HULTZSCH has given the chronology of all earlier studies undertaken by various scholars with regard to a particular inscription. Yet numerous articles by eminent scholars have appeared since HULTZSCH's publication of CII Vol 1 in 1925. The following Bibliography has been prepared with a view to making it as exhaustive and up to date as possible by including all earlier and recent studies of scholars in various countries and in as many languages. Due to the wartime emergency conditions present at the time when this Essay was prepared some of the latest issues of Periodicals dealing with Indology as well as a few earlier and rare books and articles could not be availed of by me. This attempt is, therefore, restricted to the Books and Periodicals which I could obtain in Western India, and as such I offer my apologies to readers for some omissions that may have remained in the list below. Such works as I myself could not consult and the details of which are due to second hand reference have been indicated in the following list with an asterisk mark. Still there remain some Periodicals containing articles dealing with Asokan inscriptions even the details about which could not be given, and all these incomplete references have been given at the end. I shall therefore be obliged if the readers will give me suggestions to improve this Bibliography and send me information regarding the incomplete references and the likely omissions.

Besides being as exhaustive as possible, there is another important feature of this Bibliography. It does not merely enumerate the names of authors and their works but also tries to give in short, and if possible in the author's own words, the nature of their contents. The personal history of Asoka and the early history of Buddhism require to be substantiated by the evidence offered by these inscriptions and hence important works dealing with these subjects merit mention in this Bibliography. It is hoped that the present effort will be useful to all those who undertake the study of these inscriptions from any point of view¹.

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¹ For the subjective classification of the entries given below the reader is requested to refer to the Note on Bibliography added at the end

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- (a) '*anusamyāna*' is not the same as '*anusamññamāna*' pp 88-89
 - (b) Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas pp 89-92
 - (c) Chronology of the Edicts pp 92-124
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(b) *ayāya sambodhim* real meaning seems to be that 'Aśoka himself became a Buddha' pp 140-41
(c) *saṁāja*—Council or gatherings pp 141-42

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Discussion on Minor Aśoka Edicts regarding the interpretation of 256 in the
light of the two Sinhalese inscriptions from Tonigala
- 47 BOYER, M. A.-M. "L'Inscription de Sārnāth et ses Parallèles d'Allahābād et
de Sānchu" JA Ser 10 Tome 10 119-42 1907
Text, translation and Notes on these three edicts
- 48 BUHLER, G. "Three New Aśoka Edicts" IA. 6 149-60 1877 Transcripts
and Translation of Sahasrām, Rūpnāth and Bairāt Edicts Aśoka ac-
tually entered the Saṃgha and had become a Buddhist monk (p 156)
Review
*Rhys Davids The Academy, July 1877 p 37
*R. Pischel The Academy, August 1877 p 145
- 49 BUHLER, G. "The Three New Edicts of Asoka" IA 7 141-60 1878 Mainly
discussion on the authorship of Sahasrām, Rūpnāth and Bairāt Edicts
- 50 BUHLER, G. "Transcripts of the Delhi and Allahabad Pillar Edicts of Aśoka"
IA 13 306-10 1884 Transcripts in Devanāgarī with plates
- 51 BUHLER, G. "Transcripts and Translations of the Dhauḥ and Jaugada ver-
sions of Aśoka's Edicts" See the Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and
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- 52 BUHLER, G. "Texts of the Asoka Edicts on the Delhi-Mirat Pillar and the
Separate Edicts on the Allahabad Pillar" IA 19 122-6 1890 Text,
palaeogr and ling notes
- 53 BUHLER, G. "The Barabar and Nagarjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions of Aśoka
and Dasaratha" IA 20 361-5 1891 Text (with facsimiles) and
translation "Aśoka became really a zealous Buddhist in the
twenty-ninth year of his reign" (p*363)
- 54 BUHLER, G. "Aśoka's Twelfth Rock Edict, according to the Shāhbāzgarhī ver-
sion" EI 1 16-20 1892 Transcript in Roman and Devanāgarī and
Translation
- 55 BUHLER, G. "Aśoka's Sahasram, Rupanath, and Bairat Edicts" IA 22
299-306 1893 Revised Transcripts with plates Linguistic and pala-
eographic notes
- 56 BUHLER, G. "The Aśoka Edicts from Mysore" VOJ 7 29-32 1893 Read-
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Palaeographic Notes
- 57 BUHLER, G. "The Pillar Edicts of Asoka" EI 2 245-74 1894 A complete
edition of all the versions of the pillar edicts with transcripts (Roman
and plates), Trans and Explanatory Remarks

- 58 BÜHLER, G "Asoka's Rock-Edicts According to the Girnār, Shāhabāzgarhī, Kālsī and Mānsehrā Versions" EI, 2 447-72 1894
Transcripts (in Roman with plates), Translation of the Shāhabāzgarhī version and Notes
- 59 BÜHLER, G "The Discovery of a New Fragment of Āśoka's Edict XIII at Junāgaḍh" VOJ 8 318-20 1894 Readings (of course fragmentary)
- 60 BÜHLER, G "The Siddapur Edicts of Asoka", EI 3 134-42 1894-95 Transcripts (Roman, with plates), Trans, Remarks—palaeographic, linguistic and explanatory
- 61 BÜHLER, G "Pada, the Writer of Asoka's Siddapur Edicts" IA 26 334-b 1897 *pada* is a word suited for a proper name
- 62 BÜHLER, G "Words from Āśoka's Edicts found in Pali" VOJ 12 75-6 1898 Words like *ayaputa brahmaṇḍhya* etc are discussed
- 63 BÜHLER, G "The Āśoka Edicts of Paderia and Nigliva" EI 5 1-6 1898-9 Transcripts (Roman with plates), Trans and Remarks
- 64 BÜHLER, G "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Āśoka Inschriften" ZDMG 37 87-108, 253-81, 422-34, 572-93 1883 I Die Vierzehn Edicte von gīrnār, Khālsī and Jaugaḍa Major RE 1-13 Text Trans and Notes
- 65 BÜHLER, G "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Āśoka Inschriften" ZDMG 40 17-42 508 1885 Die Dhauh Version Rock Edicts 1 10 and 14
- 66 BÜHLER, G "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka Inschriften" ZDMG 40 127-42 1886 Edict XIII zweite Hälfte, Edict 14
- 67 BÜHLER, G "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka Inschriften" ZDMG 41 1-29 1887 II Die Separat Edicte Text, Trans and Notes
- 68 BÜHLER, G "Die Shāhbāzgarhī Version des Felsenedicte Asoka's" ZDMG 43 128-76 1889 Text, Trans and Notes
- 69 BÜHLER, G "Die Mansehra Version der Felsenedicte Āśoka's" ZDMG 43 273-96 1889 Edicts 1-12 Text and Notes
- 70 BÜHLER, G "Asoka's Felsenedicte" ZDMG 44 702-04 1890 Mansehra Version of the 13th and 14th Edicts
- 71 BÜHLER, G "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Āśoka Inschriften" ZDMG 45 144 59 1891 III Die sieben Saulenedicte PE 1-3 Text, Trans, and Notes
- 72 BÜHLER, G "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Āśoka Inschriften" ZDMG 46 54-92 1892 PE 4-7 Text, Trans and Notes
- 73 BÜHLER, G "Nachtrag Zu Asoka's Viertem Saulenedicte" ZDMG 46 539 40 1892 Note on *abhīhāle*
- 74 BÜHLER, G "Āśoka's Rājūkas oder Lajukas" ZDMG 47 466 71 1893, Expl of the terms in the light of Jātaka passages
- 75 BÜHLER, G "Nachträge zur Erklärung der Āśoka Inschriften" ZDMG 48 49-64 1894 Various explanatory notes on Rock and Pillar Edicts
- 76 BURGESS, J Reports on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kachh ASWI London 1876 VI The Āśokan Inscription at Junāgaḍh pp 93-127 Text, Trans and Notes
- 77 BURGESS, J The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta ASSI Vol I 1887 Ch 1 Introductory Early History, pp 1-12

- " Satiyaputra represents Telingana, probably including also Kalinga, or the districts over which the Telugu language is spoken, and which, in modern times at least, extends along the east coast from Ganjam to Pulikat, and thence eastwards to the seventy-eighth meridian, which closely corresponds with its eastern limit as far north as the Pam-gangā River, where the boundary turns eastwards "
- 78 BURNOUF, M E " Sur Anyatra et sur quelques passages des Edicts religieux de Piyadasi " Appendix No 10 Lotus de la Bonne Loi by pp 652-781 Paris 1852.
- §1 Sur le mot anyatra pp 653-65
- §2 Sur le mot āśanava des édits de Piyadasi pp 665-70
- §3 Sur les deux édits détachés à Dhauri pp 671-710
- §4 Sur les noms de Buddha, Bhagavat, Rāhula, Saddharma, dans une des inscriptions de Piyadasi pp 710-30
- §5 Sur les mots samvatta, apaehiti, vyandjana, hitasukha, mahallaka, vēdalla, bhāga pp 730-61
- §6 Sur le douzième édit de Girnar pp 761-74
- §7 Sur les inscriptions des Grottes Pres de Buddha Gayā pp 774-81
- 79 BURT, T S " A Description, with Drawings, of the Ancient Stone Pillar at Allahabad called Bhim Sen's Gadā or Club, with accompanying copies of four Inscriptions engraven in different characters upon its surface " JASB, 3, 105-13 1834
- 80 BURT, Captain " Inscription found near Bhabra, three marches from Jey-pore on the Road to Delhi " JASB 9 616-17 1840. Notice of the inscription
- 81 CHAKRAVARTI, M M " Animals in the Inscriptions of Piyadasi " Memoirs of the As Soc Bengal Vol 1 361-74 Calcutta 1906
- A study of the names of animals in general and animals in special occurring in Asokan inscriptions
- 82 CHANDA, Ramaprasad The beginnings of art in Eastern India with special reference to sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Memoirs of the ASI No. 30 Calcutta 1927
- Section IV—The Imperialism of Asoka pp 12-20 For his *dhammavijaya* see pp 14-16 Though himself a convert Buddhist, "The Dharma taught by Asoka is not exactly Buddhism, it is a synthesis of "the essentials of all sects" made by a very tolerant man, and the end it has in view is not Nirvāna, but happiness in this world and the attainment of the great heaven after death "
- Section V—The Edicts of Asoka pp 20-26 General contents are noted to give an idea of his Dharma
- 83 * CHANDA, Ramaprasad. "Navanuskṛta Asoka Śilā-Lekha" (A newly discovered stone-Inscription of Asoka (in Hindi) Prabāsi 1935 806-08
- The author gives reasons why the newly discovered fragment of an inscription at Rumminder (published by Prof Chakladar in the previous issue of Prabāsi) cannot be of Asoka's time
- 84 CHARPENTIER, J "A Note on the Padariya or Rumminder Inscription" IA 43.17-20. 1914 Text, Sk rendering and explanatory notes.

- 85 CHARPENTIER, J "Antiochus, King of Yavanas" BSOS 6 203-21 1930-32
Antiochus I (281-262-61 B.C.) is mentioned in Aśokan Inscription.
- 86 CHARPENTIER, J "Remarks on the Fourth Rock-Edict of Aśoka" IHQ
9 76-87 1933 Discussion on three passages
- 87.* CHARPENTIER J "Kleins Bemerkungen zum funften Säulenedikt des Aśoka"
Festchr Winternitz 303-12 1933
- 88 CHAUDHARI, Bankim Ch Ray "Surāstra under the Mauryas" IHQ 7 629-32
1931 A reply to the article by Dr Ghoshal, see below No 140
- 89 CLARK, W E "Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi" JAOS 44 81-121 1924 "The
Aśokan inscriptions seem to prove that the official language of Maga-
dha in third century B.C. had s, not ś" (p 90)
- 90 COURT, M. A "Extracts Translated from a Memoir on a Map of Peshāwar
and the country comprised between the Indus and the Mydesphes, the
Peucclaotis and Taxula of Ancient Geography" JASB 5 468-82 1836
Notice of the existence of Shāhbāzgarhi Rock (p 481)
- 91 COUSENS, H "Description of Rupnath Rock" Progress reports, ASWI
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- 92 CUNNINGHAM, A Inscriptions of Aśoka CII Vol 1 (old edition) Calcutta
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Review E Senart, JA Sér VII tom 13 522-45 1879 Various linguistic
and palaeographic notes For the meaning of 256, see pp 524-26
Part I (a) General and detailed account of the Inscriptions (including the
Deotek Slab) pp 1-42 (b) Texts (in Roman with plates) and trans-
lation. His translation accompanies the available translations by Prin-
sep, Wilson, Burnouf and Buhler pp 65-141
Part II (a) Language of the Inscriptions pp 43-8 (b) Alphabetical
characters pp 49-63
- 93 DAVIDS, Mrs C A F Rhys "Asoka, Heir of the way", Indian Art and
Letters 14 (NS) 46-53 1940
"Whatever be the truth about the monkhood of Aśoka's closing years, it is
in the Edicts that he is shown a true heir of Gotama's way of the
Worlds"
- 94 DAVIDS, T W RHYS "On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon" The
International Numismata Orientalia pp 57-60 London. 1877 Sup
plementary note on the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth Edict The author
points out that the edict is not certainly and necessarily Buddhist
- 95 DAVIDS, T W RHYS "Note on some of the titles used in the Bhabra Edict
of Aśoka" JPTS 1896 93-98 London
Aśoka does not refer to books but makes a selection of seven passages only
from the Pīṭakas The article contains also some notes on identifica-
tions
- 96 DAVIDS, T W Rhys "The Sambodhi in Asoka's Eighth Edict" JRAS
1898 619-22
"There would seem to be no sufficient reason why we should not under-
stand Aśoka to mean that he had started, in his own opinion, along the
Eightfold Path, towards the attainment, doubtless in some future birth,
of Arhatship"

97. DAVIDS, T W Rhys. "Asoka's Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1898 639-40 Identification of *Vimaya-samukamsa* etc
- 98 DAVIDS, T W Rhys Dialogues of the Buddha Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol II London 1899
 - (1) Preface, p xiii ff "It is clear that in Asoka's time there was acknowledged to be an authoritative literature, , containing what was then believed to be the words of the Buddha "
 - (11) pp 190-191 *sambodhi* = insight of the higher stages of the path to Arhatship
- 99 * DAVIDS, T W Rhys Milinda Vol I p xxxviii For Bhābrū edict
- 100 DAVIDS, T W Rhys Buddhist India, London 1903
 - (1) For identification of *ariyavasāni*, *anāgata-bhayāni*, *munigāthā*, *moneya-sutta*, *upalissa pasma* in the Bhābrū Edict, see pp 169-70
 - (11) For a chapter on Asoka, see pp 272-307
- 101 * DEB, H K Asoka's Dhammalipis Calcutta 1919
- 102 DEB, H K "Notes on some edicts of Asoka" JPASB 16 (NS) 331-37 1920
 - RE VI Notes on *dāpake*, *srāvāpake* and *mahāmātra*
 - PE V A quotation from Arthaśāstra relating to *bandhanamokṣa*
 - PE VI Note on *pāpova* ,
- 103 DEB, H K "The Svastika and the Omkāra" JPASB 17 (NS) 231-47 1921 Association of *ma* in the Jaugaḍa version of the two separate edicts with the svastika sign p 233
- 104 DIKSHITAR, V R R The History of Early Buddhism in India JBIIS 2 51-74 1929

Asoka was neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina, but a follower of the established religion of the land, what we may now call the earlier form of Hinduism (p 72)
- 105 DIKSHITAR, V R R "Asoka's Religion--The Evidence of Archaeology" JOR 4 267-81 1930

" the monuments of Asoka cannot carry conviction home to decide the religious leaning of the Emperor to Buddhism "
- 106 DIKSHITAR, V R R The Mauryan Polity Madras 1932
 - Ch I Section (iv) Inscriptions of Asoka pp 27-48
 - Ch VII Section (iii) Asoka's Dharma pp 250-59 Section (V) Asoka's Personal Religion pp 276 99
- 107 DIKSHITAR, V R R "Dharma Vijaya A New Interpretation Dr K B Pathak Comm Vol pp 280-286 1934

" the term *dharmavijaya* has nothing to do with the doctrine of Buddhism, but is a healthy method of righteous war which Asoka advocated "
- 108 DIKSHITAR, V R R "The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka" Woolner Comm. Vol pp 68-74 1940 Appendix gives the Śhāhbazgarhī Text pp 75-76
 - 1 Kālīṅga war was waged not to make any fresh conquest, but to suppress a rebellion in the empire
 - 2 The special reference to Brāhmanas in this edict shows Asoka's faith in the Brahmanical *dharma*

3. In the centuries preceding the Christian era, *śramaṇa* refers not to Buddhists but to the orthodox ascetics of the Brahmanical fold
- 4 The *dharma* preached is a replica of Hindu law of Śaṅkara Dharma.
- 5 *dharma-vijaya* does not mean conquest by morality but only a righteous war as distinguished from *asura-* and *lobha-vijaya*
- 109 DIKSHITAR, V R R "An Intriguing Statement in Aśokan Inscriptions" K V Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Vol pp 25-30 Benares 1940
The statement in question occurs in the 1st Minor Rock edict. "Thus this inscription is yet another evidence to establish that Aśoka was not a Buddhist"
- 110 DIKSHITAR, V R R "The Kośar Their Place in South Indian History (A Summary)" Proc Trans 6th AIOC pp 217-18 Patna 1930
Satyaputra Kingdom was the Tulu or Tuluva land of which the present Mangalore was possibly the centre
- 111 DIKSHITAR, V R R "Who were the Satyaputras?" IC 1493-96 1934-35
Satyaputra = Kośa-nāḍu (Kośar) of the Śilappadikaram = Ancient Tuluva (modern South Kanara)
- 112 DIKSHITAR, V R R "The Satyaputras, Śātakarnis, Sātvas and Nāsatyas" IC 2549-56 1936
The proposed identification of Satyaputras with the latter is not accepted by the author
- 113 EDMUNDS, Albert J Buddhist Bibliography JPTS 1902 03 28-29 (Note of 1913) Inscriptions of Aśoka
- 114 EDMUNDS, Albert J "Identification of Aśoka's First Buddhist Selection" JRAS 1913 385-87
"The Mahāvastu or Mahāvaggo, in its primitive form, was probably the Sermon in the Deer Park, with a little introductory matter, and may well have been the first document of Aśoka's edict of Bhābrā This is called *Vinaya-samukhamsa* (Supreme Discipline)"
- 115 EGGERMONT, P H L "The Date of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII" AO 18 103-23 1940
Holding that Magas of Cyrene died between 253 and 250 B C, Alikasundara must be identified with Alexander of Epirus who died before or in the year 255 B C The Rock Edict XIII was published before or in the year 255 B C
- 116 ELIOT, Sir Charles Hinduism and Buddhism Vol I London 1921
Aśoka pp 254-275 (for inscriptions p 265ff) For Bhābrū edict p 290ff
"This edict does not prove that Aśoka had before him in the form which we know the Dīgha and other works cited But the most cautious logic must admit that there was a collection of the Buddha's sayings to which he could appeal and that if most of his references to this collection can be identified in our Pīṭakas, then the major part of these Pīṭakas is probably identical in substance (not necessarily verbally) with the collection of sayings known to Aśoka"
- 117 *EUKUCHI, Kanji "Samgham upagata Kō (Study on the Phrase saṅgham upagata. In Japanese) Kaigai Bukkyō Jijō (Buddhism Abroad) IV No 4 pp 11-16 Tōkyō 1937

The author is inclined to adopt the interpretation which equates the meaning of this phrase to *bhikhugatika* in the *Mahāvagga*. See ABIA 1937 No 264

- 118 FAZY, M Robert "Sur une Éclipse du Temps d'Āśoka(?)" JA. Tom 217 135-36 1930 See below Jayaswal No 186
- 119 FLEET, J F "Facsimiles of the Inscriptions of Āśoka" IA 13.304-6 1884 Allahabad and Delhi Pillars
- 120 FLEET, J F "The Sahasrām, Rūpnātha, etc Edict of Āśoka" JRAS 1903 829 A letter to Prof Rhys Davids The edict is dated 256th year after the death of Buddha and 38 years after the *abhiseka* of Āśoka
- 121 FLEET, J F "The Date of Buddha's Death, as Determined by a Record of Āśoka" (to be continued) JRAS 1904 1-26

The record in question is the Minor Rock Edict which is discussed in full *Vyūtha*, *vyuṭha* and *vivuṭha* denote Buddha according to the author and the No 256 refers to the years elapsed since his Wanderings The article refers to all earlier views expressed on the subject
- 122 FLEET, J F "The Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, etc Edict of Āśoka" JRAS 1904 355 A Short Note

The Edict endorses the statement of the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* that Āśoka reigned for 37 years
- 123 FLEET, J F "Epigraphic Researches in Mysore" JRAS 1905 304 Notice of the Śiddāpur, Brahmagiri and Jaṭunga-Rāmeśvara version
- 124 FLEET, J F "The Meaning of Adhakosiya in the Seventh Pillar-Edict of Āśoka" JRAS 1906 401-17

adhakosiya = at a distance of eight kōs The article also discusses some other words as *ambāvaḍḍikā* and *ṇimsiddhiyā*
- 125 FLEET, J F "The Last Edict of Āśoka" JRAS 1908 811-22 Discussion on the last part of the Third Rock Edict and the Minor Rock Edict The No 256 denotes the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha
- 126 FLEET, J F "The Rumminder Inscription" JRAS 1908 823

Vigaḍa = brick
- 127 FLEET, J F "The Ruminder Inscription and the Conversion of Āśoka to Buddhism" JRAS 1908 471-98

The author concedes that Āśoka was a convert to Buddhism but remarks that the object of his edicts was "not to propagate Buddhism or any particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Āśoka to govern his kingdom righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings"
- 128 FLEET, J F "Udbalika and Pranayakriya" JRAS 1909 760-62 *ubalika* = Sk *udbalika*- The word has nothing to do with *ubāri* (cf. Lyall's note No 217 below) which comes from Sk *ud* + *√vr*
- 129 FLEET, J F "The Last Words of Āśoka". JRAS 1909 981-1016 JRAS 1910 1301-08 JRAS 1913 655-58

Notes on the MRE especially from the view point of determining the significance of the No 256 which, in the author's opinion, denotes the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha. The first article of the Series (JRAS 1909) also gives the Text and Translation of the Rupnāth Edict

JRAS 1910 The author gives up his earlier opinion and accepts that of F W Thomas. The number 256 represents the number of days during which Aśoka was away as a recluse

JRAS 1913 Summary of his article in JRAS 1911 (see below No 131). After reigning for 37 years Aśoka abdicated and passed into religious retirement on the hill of Suvarṇagiri

130 FLEET, J F "Remarks on Hultzsch's Second Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1910 146-49. The meanings suggested by Hultzsch (see below No 159) are not acceptable to the author

131 FLEET, J F "The 256 Nights of Aśoka" JRAS 1911 1091-1112. Criticism of Lévi's article 'vyuthena 256' (see below No 212)

132 FLEET, J F "Archaeological Work in Hyderabad, Deccan" JRAS 1916 572-74. Review on H Krishna Sastri's monograph on Maski Edict (see below No 303)

133 FRANKE, R Otto "Zu Aśoka's Säulen-Edicten" VOJ 9 333-50 1895. Various Linguistic Notes

134 *FRANKE, R O "Zu Aśoka's Felsen-Edicten" Nachr der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch zu Göttingen 1895

135 FRANKE, R O Pāli und Sanskrit Strassburg 1902. For Aśokan Bibliography see pp 1-5

136 GHATAGE, A M "Groups of Two Mutes in Middle Indo-Aryan" JUB 14(NS) 52-54, 1945. Consideration of the dialectal treatment of the clusters *-tv-*, *-tm-*, and *dv* in Aśokan inscriptions

137 * GHOSH, A "The Kosam Inscription of Aśoka" JUB 3 pts 1/4. This reference is given in ABIA Vol 10 1935 No 276. As I have not been able to trace it up I think the reference is mistaken. I regret my inability to correct it

138 GHOSH, Miss Bhramara "Did Not Yavana Denote Persian even before the Second Century A.D.?" IC 1 519-21 1935. It gives the view of Dr E. J Thomas viz that 'yavana' in Aśokan Inscriptions means 'the Persians' rather than 'the Greeks' (See below No 385)

139 GHOSH, M "Religion of Aśoka" Proc Trans 2nd AIOC pp 553-58. Calcutta 1922

"Thus it appears that after the conquest of Kalunga in the ninth year of his reign and before his 14th year he was a staunch follower of Ajivika party of the Niggantha Community and between his 14th and 30th year he was vacillating between his faith in the Ajivika sect and the Buddhist religion. Further from the 21st year till his death he was a staunch adherent of the Buddhist faith"

140 GHOSAL, U N "On Some Points Relating to the Maurya Administrative System" IHQ 6 423-35, 614-27 1930

The author discusses several classes of governors mentioned in the edicts of Asoka and Rudrasena, further the authenticity of the Buddhist tradition of Asoka's loss of sovereignty and the significance of the Pillar Edict IV

- 141 Gopal, M H "The Date of Asoka's Rock-Edicts", IA 56.27-29 1927
Determining the internal chronology of various edicts. The author refutes Dr Bhandarkar's plea that all Rock-Edicts, whether principal or minor, were engraved after the Pillar-Edicts.
142. GRIERSON, G A "The Inscriptions of Piyadasī." Translated from the French of É. Senart by and Revised by the Author.
 - (a) IA 17.303-07 1888 Ch II The Column Edicts General description Text, Translation and Notes on the first and the second edict.
 - (b) IA 17.1-9 1889 Third and Fourth (Pillar) Edicts Text, Translation and Notes
 - (c) IA 18.73-80 1889 Fifth (Pillar) Edict Text, Translation and Notes
 - (d) IA 18.105-06 1889 Sixth (Pillar) Edict Text, Translation and Notes
 - (e) IA 18.300.9 1889 Seventh and Eighth (Pillar) Edict. The Queen's Edict at Allahabad Text, Translation and Notes. Kausambi Edict Text (reproduced from Cunningham's Ins of Asoka CII Vol I (old edn))
 - (f) IA 19.82.102 1890 Ch III The Detached Rock Edicts 1 The edicts of Dhauhi and Jaugada Text, Translation and Notes
 - (g) IA 20.154-170 1891 Ch III The Detached Rock Edicts
 - 2 The Edicts of Sahasram, Rupnath, Bairat
 - 3 The Edict of Bhabra
 - 4 The Inscriptions of the Barabar Caves Text, Translation and Notes
 - (h) IA 20.229-66 1891 Ch IV The Author and the Language of the Inscriptions Part I "It is certain that Piyadasī was a declared adherent of Buddhism" (p 245) His conversion pp 246-9, 257-66 His administration pp 249-55
 - (i) IA 21.1-13, 85-92 101-16, 1892 Ch IV Part II The Language.
 - 1 The Grammar of the Inscriptions
 - (j) IA 21.145-55, 171-77 1892 Ch IV Part II The Language
 - 2 The General Character of the Language, Its Historical Position
 - (k) IA 21.203-10, 243-50, 258-76 1892 Ch V The Language of the Edicts and the Linguistic History of India
 - Part I The Chronology of the Inscriptions
 - II Mixed Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit
 - III Monumental Literary Prakrit.
 - IV Conclusion.
- 143 GRIERSON, G A "M E Senart's Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne" IA. 19.43-44 1890.

- A Book Notice on the papers republished from JA containing Senart's observations on the Piyadasi inscriptions at Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsērā and Gurnār.
- 144 * GRIERSON, G A "On the condition of Aśoka Inscriptions in India". Tenth Congress Pt 2, pp. 145-150 1894.
- 145 GRIERSON, G A "Sanskrit as a Spoken Language". A discussion on Prof Rapson's essay on the subject. JRAS 1904 477-79
The author points out some similarities between the Shāhbāzgarhī dialect and the Pārsī Pkt and the Dard languages of to-day
- 146 GRIERSON, G A. "Linguistic Relationship of the Shahabazgarhi Inscription". JRAS 1904 725-31
Phonetic parallelism between "Dard" and Shahabazgarhi
147. GRIERSON, G. A "Aḍhakosiya" JRAS 1906 693 Dr Fleet's translation of *aḍha* by 'eight' (see above No 124) is borne out by the tradition of Magadha
- 148 GRIERSON, G A "Yaska's Datra Shahabazgarhi and Mansehra Phonetics" JRAS 1913 682-83
"These examples (from modern Pisāca languages regarding the metathesis of *r*) seem to me to throw grave doubts on the common assumption that in the Shahabazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions such words as *dhrama-draśana* are merely graphical methods of representing *dharma*, *darśana*"
- 149 GRIERSON G A "Shāhbāzgarhī 'utnānam', Śaurasēni Locative in 'c'" JAOS 42 211 12 1922
Shāhbāzgarhī *uthānam* is to be referred to the ancestor of Dardic, rather than to Śaurasēni influence
150. *HANADA, Kaname "Aśoka-Ōkoku to sono Shūkyō-seisaku" (The Asokan Kingdom and its Religious Policy In Japanese) Bukkyō 2 96-103
On the relation between Aśoka's rule and Buddhism See ABIA 1936 No 419
- 151 HARDY, E "On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1901 311 15 An explanatory note on "*e cu kho bhamie alahāmi hakām[-]lavitave*"
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 - 158 HULTZSCH, E "A Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1909 728-30 The No 256 marks the number of years elapsed since the renunciation of Buddha The Rūpnāth edict would fall in about B C 254 Identification of *vivāsa* with Pāli *abhinikkhamanā* and *pabbajjā*
 - 159 HULTZSCH, E "A Second Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1910 142-46 Following Fleet the meaning of 256 (cf above No 129) is given up by the author Meanings of *sala* and *chavachare* are suggested
 - 160 HULTZSCH, E "A Third Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1910 1308-11 Thomas' view that 256 is the number of nights is accepted Discussion on a few minor points and revised translation of the Rūpnāth text
 - 161 HULTZSCH, E "The Sanchi Edict of Asoka" JRAS 1911 167-69 Text and Translation
 - 162 HULTZSCH, E "Asoka's Fourth Rock Edict" JRAS 1911 785-88 Meaning of lines 2-4
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 - 164 HULTZSCH, E "A Fourth Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1911 1114-17 Discussion on some words like *deva*, *pakamati*, etc
 - 165 HULTZSCH, E "The Rupnath and Sarnath Edicts of Asoka" JRAS 1912 1053-59 Discussion on some ambiguous words and passages
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 V Aśoka's International Conquest by Dharma and his so-called "*Asha-shu*" Correctly *Ashurshu* = "in Syria"
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- 272 POSTANS. 'Notes of a Journey to Girnar in the Province of Kathiyawār, for the Purpose of Copying the Ancient Inscriptions upon the Rock near that Place" JASB 7 865-87 1838
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- 277 PRINSEP, J 'Interpretation of the Most Ancient of the Inscriptions on the Pillar Called the Lāt of Feroz Shāh, near Delhi, and of the Allahabad, Radhia and Mattiāh Pillar, or Lāt, Inscriptions which agree therewith" Transcripts, Trans., and Notes
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(ii) Political aspects of the Edicts pp 85 107 Discussion on such terms as *yukta, rājuka prādesika anusamyāna, paṛisā ganānā, paṭivedaka, mahāmātra* and on Duties of a king
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- 338 SENART, E "Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne" JA Sér 8 tom 12 311-30 1888
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- 344 SETH, H C "Some Obscure Passages in Asokan Inscriptions" Nagpur University Jour December 1943 pp 16-20
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(2) *e cu iyam alanā pacūpagamane* etc PE VI
(3) *imam cu dhammānupatīpati anupatipajantū ti etadathā* PE VII

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- 346 SHAH, T L. Ancient India Vol II Baroda 1939 Part IV deals with Aśoka pp 302-05 give proofs to show that Priyadarśin followed Jainism
- 347 SHAH, T L. Samrāt Priyadarśi, or the Emperor mistakenly supposed to be Aśoka, or the Jama Emperor Samprati Baroda 1942 (In Gujarati)
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- 349 SINGH Deo, B "Tosali and Tosala" QAHS 3 41-43 1928
" It is possible to identify Tosali with modern Khujjura in Mayurbhanj "
- 350 SIRCAR, D C "An Inscription of Aśoka Discovered at Yerragudi" IHQ 7 737-40 (817-20) 1931 Transcript and Translation
- 351 SIRCAR, D C "Yavana and Parasika" JIH 14 34-38 1935
The author disagrees with Dr E J Thomas' hypothesis that the term 'yavana' meant the Persian military power (as consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries) (see below No 385) Persians became acquainted with Greeks through the Ionian Colonists whom they called *yavana* (= Ionian) The Persian word *yavana* was borrowed by Indians cf Mbh XII 207-43 Yavana is only a Sanskritised form of *yavana* of which the real Pkt form is *yona* Thus *yavana* in early literature means Greeks and *Pārasika* means Persians
- 352 SIRCAR, D C "On Some Words in the Inscriptions of Asoka" IC 7 487-89 1941
The words that are discussed are (1) *bhāge amñe* in R.E. VIII, (2) *stihjha-kha-mahāmāla* in R.E. XII (3) *kaṭābhikāra* in R.E. V, (4) *duāhale* in separate R.E. I
- 353 SIRCAR, D C. "Pārinda in the Inscriptions of Aśoka" IC 8 399-400 1942
The author feels that the philological difficulties in identifying Pārinda or *Pārinda with Pulindas are not unsurmountable
- 354 SIRCAR, S C "A Note on the Last Year of Aśoka" IC 11 85-86 1944
The author does not believe that Aśoka's pacifist policy was responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan Empire

355. SMITH, V A "The Birth Place of Gautama Buddha" JRAS 1897 315-21.
Information about the Nigali Sagar Pillar Transcript and purport of the pillar inscription pp. 616-19
356. SMITH, V A "A Prefatory Note to Mukherji's "A Report on a tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal" Calcutta 1901 (see above No 255)
Mr Smith believes in the unity of authorship of inscriptions, but Mukherji concludes in the manifoldness of authorship (p. 2). The importance of the pillar inscription in Tarai and identity of Rummundeī with Lumbini garden (pp 2-7)
357. SMITH, V A. "The Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions" JRAS 1901 481-99
To sum up, all the inscriptions prove to have been issued by and under the personal direction of, a single Buddhist emperor of India "
358. SMITH, V A, "On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1901 574 The author points out that Hardy's (see above No 151) explanations are based on wrong readings
359. SMITH, V A "The Translation of devānampiyā JRAS 1901 577-78
devānampiyā = *rājāno*
360. SMITH, V A "The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) with Āśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems" JRAS 1901 827-58
Part I The Identity of Piyadasi with Āśoka Maurya pp 827-39
Part II Kālāśoka pp 839-42 Kālāśoka of the Ceylonese chronicles is a fiction "
Part III Buddhist Councils pp 842-58
361. SMITH, V A "Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, and other Buddhist Holy Places" JRAS, 1902 139-63 For the names of Lauriyā-Nandangarh see p 153
362. SMITH, V A "A Chinese Asoka" IA 32 236 1903
"The Chinese case (of Hsiao Yen—6th cent AD—of the Liang dynasty of China, who was a devout Buddhist) should finally remove the doubts of the most sceptical concerning the propriety of the literal interpretation of Asoka's distinct and categorical statement that he joined the order"
363. SMITH, V A "The Meaning of Piyadasi" IA 32 265 67 1903 *Piyadasi* = His Gracious Majesty, or His Grace
364. SMITH, V A "The Rummundeī Inscription, Hitherto Known as the Padariya Inscription" IA 34 1-4 1905
(1) Criticism on the nomenclature, (2) *vigadabhi* = flawless, (3) *aṭha bhāgiya* = with eight shares (of land)
365. SMITH, V A "Āśoka's Alleged Mission to Pegu" IA 34 180-86 1905 The silence of the edicts concerning the mission disproves its reality
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367. SMITH, V A "Āśoka Notes" IA 32 364-66 1903
I Mahēndra, brother of Āśoka

- II. The Dharma Mahāmātras, or Censors of the Law of Piety Two modern Indian parallels to Aśoka's Dharma Mahāmātras
 - III Aśoka's Father-Confessor. His Father-Confessor was Upagupta, the son of Gupta
368. SMITH, V A "Aśoka Notes" IA. 34 200-03, 245-51. 1905
- IV Consular Officers in India and Greece. pp 200-01
 - V Persian Influence on Mauryan India. pp 201-03
 - VI The meaning of *Sāmānta* in Rock Edict II p 245
 - VII The meaning of *cikicha* in the same edict, and revised trans of the edict. pp 246-48
 - VIII The Keralaputra and Satiyaputra Kingdoms pp 348-51 Satiyaputra identified with Tulu country.
- 369 SMITH, V A. "Aśoka Notes" IA 37 19-24 1908
- IX The Third Rock Edict, discussion on the last line It contains also a Note by F W Thomas
- 370 SMITH, V A "Aśoka Notes" IA 38 151-59 1909
- X Aśoka in Fa-hien's Travels—with notice of some discoveries near Patna
- 371 SMITH, V A "Aśoka Notes" IA 39 64 1910
- XI The etymology of *Sāmipam* in Rock Edict II
- 372 SMITH, V A. "Aśoka Notes" IA. 47 48-49 1918
- XII Identification of Tambapamni The author refers to the Tāmraparṇī (Tinnevely) river in the Tinnevely District and not to Ceylon
- 373 SMITH, V A The Edicts of Aśoka London 1909 Trans pp 3-41, Commentary pp 43-76
- 374 SMITH, V A. On the Identity of Satiyaputra observes that it is represented by the Satyamangalam region in the Coimbatore District JRAS 1919 584 footnote 1 to S K Aiyangar's paper (see above No 3) and in his Review of the Beginnings of South Indian History JRAS 1919 596-99
- 375 SMITH, V A. Aśoka The Buddhist Emperor of India Rulers of India Series (1st edn. 1901, 2nd edn 1909, 3rd edn 1920)
- Ch I The History of Aśoka (pp 11-71) "Aśoka was both monk and monarch at the same time" (p 35)
 - Ch III The Monuments (pp 107-148) General information
 - Ch IV The Rock Edicts (pp 149-204) Translation of all Edicts (page references to the 2nd edn)
- 376 SMITH, V A The Oxford History of India Oxford 1923 Book II, Ch 2 Aśoka Maurya and his institutions, diffusion of Buddhism. pp 93-110 For Rummudei inscription and Daśaratha's inscription see p 102 and p 117 respectively
- 377 SMITH, V A. Early History of India. Oxford. 1924
- Ch VI Aśoka Maurya p 162ff. Appendix H The Inscriptions of Aśoka Bibliographical Note pp 180-83
 - Ch VII Aśoka Maurya (contd) For Aśoka's Dharma etc cf pp 184ff
- 378 SPEYER, J S. "Lumbini" VOJ 11 22-24 1897
- 379 STEIN, Otto "Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions" IC 1 343-58, 1935

- "The conclusion seems to be that the term Yona in Aśoka's time has been restricted to the Western peoples outside India ... To be strict, therefore, one cannot say that Aśoka means by Yona Greeks alone, though essentially he might have thought the subject of these five kings (viz Antiochos, Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander) to be Greeks"
- 380 SUBRAMANIAN, T N "Satyaputra of Aśoka's Edict No 2" JRAS 1922 84-86
 "I identify the Satyaputra with the Kośars of Kongunāḍu"
- 381 SUBRAMANIAN, T N "Petenikas of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII" JRAS 1923 88-93
 Petenika (= Sk Paithānaka) identified with the Śātavāhanas of Western India
- 382 SVARUP, Bishun. "The Antiquity of Writing in India" JBORS 8 46-64, 99-119 1922, 9 347-52 1923 Especially Introduction, VII Formation of Brāhmī alphabet
- 383 THOMA, P J "The Identification of Satyaputra" JRAS 1923 pp. 411-14
 Satyaputra = ruler of Satya Kingdom (probably Kolathiri) which lay towards the north of Chēraman's Kingdom (Kerala proper)
- 384 THOMAS, Edward "The Early Faith of Aśoka" JRAS 9 (NS) 155-234 1877
 Aśoka was originally a Jam and was afterwards attracted towards the Buddhist ideals and doctrines
- 385 THOMAS, E J "The Question of Zoroastrian Influence on Early Buddhism" Dr Modi Memorial Vol pp 279-89 1930
 Regarding the Aśokan yona the author observes, 'What conception of the Yonas, Aśoka had in his mind, is naturally not easy to prove, but it is necessary to point out that it is an entirely gratuitous assumption to hold that for Aśoka Yona meant Greek as distinct from Persian'
- 386 THOMAS, E J "Buddhaghosa and the Date of Aśoka" IC 1 95-96 1935
 The number of years elapsed between Buddha's death and Aśoka's Abhisheka given in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya is not 228 but 218
- 387 THOMAS, F W "Sanskrit as a Spoken Language" JRAS 1904 460-65
 "the Edicts of Aśoka represent a real speech of the time, a common parlance of the people"
ucāvaca (9th RE) may have reference to the following passage *aiha khalū-ccāvaca janapadadharmā grāmadharmāś ca* etc. Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra I, 7 1-2
- 388 THOMAS, F W "Aśoka Notes" IA. 37.19-24 1928 No 1X The Third Rock Edict. (See above Smith No 369)
- 389 THOMAS, F W "Ubalika and Yukta" JRAS. 1909 466-67
 The derivation of *ubahika* < *ud* + *bah* supported by the Arthaśāstra form *ucchulka*, the meaning of the word *yuta-* as 'officer' supported by the Arthaśāstra use

390. THOMAS, F W "Les vivāṇāḥ d'Asoka" JA. Sér 10 tom 15 507-22 1910
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An attempt is made here to classify the above Bibliography according to the subject matter of the entries therein The importance of arranging a Bibliography in an alphabetical order as above for ready reference need hardly be stressed The subject-wise classification given below of the above articles by giving references to their numbers in this Bibliography will help the reader to pick out those articles and works which

interest him most. Incidentally this classification also indicates the various aspects from which these inscriptions could be studied.

I Text, translation and Notes (some of the articles give only the text or only the translation)

- (a) Of all edicts together 26, 28, 34, 92, 101, 142(a-g), 171, 194, 206, 248, 269, 302, 334, 347, 373, 375, 417
- (b) Of some or all Major Rock Edicts 21, 37, 44, 51, 54, 58, 59, 64, 70, 76, 78, 172, 173, 175, 179, 195, 196, 263, 270, 282, 283, 306, 317, 318, 319, 322, 327-331, 337, 338, 340, 368(VII), 395
- (c) Of some or all Major Pillar Edicts 37, 50, 52, 57, 71, 72, 119, 195, 214, 277, 279, 280, 320, 321, 332, 333, 392
- (d) Of Minor Rock Edicts Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Bairat 48, 55, 129, 160, 323, Mysore Group 56, 60, 289, 290, 291, 339, Bhābrā 37, 201, 210, 323, 335, 415, Maski 170, 303 (also 132), Kopbāl 401, Yerrāguḍi 13, 14, 258, 293, 350
- (e) Of Minor Pillar Edicts Sāmāth 47, 403, 408, 436, Sānci 47, 161, Allahabad 47, 52, 163, 245, 321, Rumminder 63, 84, 242, 255, 376, Nigāli Sāgar 63, 355
- (f) Of Cave Inscriptions 53, 78, 174, 278, 323, 376
- (g) Doubtfully attributed to Aśoka 83, 155, 223, 237, 366

II Discussions on some passages in inscriptions A passage occurring in a particular edict will have very probably been discussed where the whole edict is studied. The entries numbered below only treat of some specific passages selected for discussion

- (a) Major Rock Edicts General 45, 215, Re III 125, 344, 369, 388, 413, RE IV 86, 162, 413, RE VI 413, RE VIII 43(u), 96, RE XII 78(§6), Separate Edicts 78(§3), 244
- (b) Major Pillar Edicts General 215, PE IV 35, 140, PE V 87, PE VI 344, PE VII 30(4), 344
- (c) Minor Rock Edicts General 22, 27, 94, 109, 125, 252, Rūpnāth 165, 260, Bhābrā 151, 152, 358, Maski 117
- (d) Minor Pillar Edicts Sāmāth 165
- (e) Cave inscriptions 78(§7).

III Notes on individual words Here also a particular word will have been probably discussed where the edict in which it occurs is studied. The following list mentions only those articles where some specific words have been dealt with

- (a) On various words 75, 78(§4, §5), 102, 133, 157, 164, 165, 176, 181, 182, 188, 189, 193, 194, 215, 227, 235, 242, 243, 244, 249, 271, 338, 393, 394, 404
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- maṭṭi* 185, *dharmathambha* 30; *dharmaviṇaya* 107, *duāhale* 216, 244, 352, *duṣampāṭipādaye* 244, *ekacā* 185, *etadathā* 243, *ganānā* 297, 298, 413, *gevaya* 227, 294, *kuṭabhikara* 180, 352, *kubhā* 294, *lagha* 294, *lāṭi* 429, 435, *lukṣa* 232, *mahāmātra* 102, 298, 352, 367, 392, *maṅgala* 180, *mukha* 227, 393 (also *danamukha*), *mukhato* 178, *muniṣa* 205, 227, *nāsanta* 30, 235; *niḥatī* 12, 30, 178, 394, *no mma* 216, *pada* 61, *pakama*, *palakama* 391, *paligodha* 393, *parisā* 43, 178, 297, 298, *paṭivedaka* 298, *Piyadasi* 363, *prādesika* see *rajuka*, *rajuka* 20, 74, 181, 247, 297, 298, 389, 392, 393, *sāmanta* 368, *samānā* 391, *sambodhi* 24, 29, 43, 98, *saṃḍake* 257, *saṃgha* 43, *saṃāja* 25, 43, 200, 274, 297, 298, 392, 432, *sāṃipam* 371, *savachara* 6, 130, 159, *sāvana* 391, *sīmale* 257, *ubahika* 128, 217, 262, 298, 308, 389, *ucāvaca* 387, *utthana* 149, 233, 234, *vaca* and *vaca-bhūmika* 1, 12, 182, 298, 310, 413, *viḡaḡa(bhi)* 126, 253, 364, *vināta* 18, 182, 310, 413, *vyuttha* 43, 307, 431, *yuta* see above *rajuka*
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1 Also cf J Canedo, Zur wort- und Satzstellung in der alt- und mittl. indischen Prosa

2 Also cf Buhler Indische Palaeography Eng Tr Appendix to IA 33 (1904), and G H Ojha Palaeography of India.

XI Aśoka's religion and his mission

- (a) Aśoka, a Buddhist 7, 16(?), 28, 29, 48, 53, 82 (personal religion), 93, 127 (personal), 139 (later life), 142(h), 150(?), 171(IV-V), 188, 194, 200(?), 208, 218, 248 (personal), 291, 296(?), 307 (later life), 313 (personal), 343, 362, 375(I), 376, 377, 384 (later life), 395, 404, 415
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SELECT OPINIONS

Select opinions of scholars on the study in Aśokan Phonology published by the same author in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol III, p 225ff

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1 " The best contribution in this volume is undoubtedly Mehendale's 'A Comparative Grammar of Aśokan Inscriptions' of which I read and admired almost every line. here we have an excellent comparative treatment of the phonology of Aśokan Inscriptions "

~BATAKRISHNA GHOSE, Calcutta

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